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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2077

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CSSR'S CATHOLIC CLERGY ACTIVITIES

Church Representatives' Visit

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] On 15 September, Milan Klusak, minister of culture of the CSR, received ordinaries of the Roman Catholic Church in the CSR. Capitular Vicar Doctor of Theology Karl Jonas, Josef Hendrich, Ludvik Horky, Josef Kavaly, and His Excellency Josef Vrana, Bishop and Apostolic Administrator of the Olomouc Archbishopric Doctor of Theology at a business meeting in Prague.

Klusak acquainted the assembled ordinaries with the Czechoslovak Government's position on contemporary foreign political developments and the results of national, in particular economic, development in Czechoslovakia.

At the meeting, attending ordinaries expressed absolute support of the Czechoslovak people's constructive peace movement.

All of the attending ordinaries were in agreement that there was a rightful place in the contemporary peace movement for clerical peace organizations, which, obedient and faithful to church teachings, also make clearly public their civil convictions. Czech ordinaries, like Slovak ordinaries, approve of the noble work of the clerical peace organization Pacem in Terris.

At the close of the agenda, which also involved topical church political questions, the Czech ordinaries assured the minister that, as regards active peace-related civil activities by Catholic clergy, they see promises of good relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. Minister Klusak acknowledged this assurance and once more asserted that the responsible state agencies would fully support this constructive orientation and other activities of the Pacem in Terris Association.

Czech Ordinaries Meet

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] At a meeting of all ordinaries of the CSR held in Litomerice on 17 September 1982, problems concerning all dioceses were examined. An important point on the agenda was the question of the seminary and the college and their

personnel. Agreements were reached and solutions found. The question of publications was also successfully negotiated, in particular as concerns the Holy Scripture, the hymnal, the catechism, and liturgical manuals.

At the close of every meeting, all the ordinaries unanimously declare their support of all honest efforts for mutual understanding and the establishment of lasting peace in a trouble and divided world. There can never be enough of these efforts in these times, and all people of good will are called upon for their support, including always believers and clergy, who will therefore support them in the service of God, our country, and all of human society. Peace and good will to all!

Pacem in Terris Conference

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 39, 26 Sep 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by V. Simecek: "For the Common Good"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan of activity of the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR, a business meeting was held on 6 and 7 September in the Charity Home in Dolni Smokovec in the Tatras, in which chairmen and secretaries of regional committees of Associations of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR participated. The meeting was chaired by the president of the federal Association of Catholic Clergy, Prelate Doctor of Theology Antanin Vesely. In his introductory address, he voiced the opinion that we should make still greater efforts in working for the church, for the good of both our nations, and for the future of all humankind. He also called for participation in this work by larger numbers of clergy and for the further intensification of this activity.

At the meeting, activity for the first half of this year was evaluated and work planned through the end of the year. The head secretary of the association, Canon Doctor of Theology Zdenek Adler, stated that work was progressing satisfactorily, with a rich variety of projects, and that it was successful as regards both the church, and society and peace. This was demonstrated, for example, by both seminars: The one in Marianske Lazne in April, of a special-interest committee, with unusual participation by the clergy and the more recent one in Hradec Kralove in late August, where participants listened with uncommon interest to lectures by a qualified professor on the 20th anniversary of the inauguration of the Second Vatican Council. Further work of the association in this spirit will be noted in the second half of this year. Such work will include an autumn regional plenum, an extended session of the federal committee and further seminars and meetings of special-interest, peace and theology, and publications committees.

At this meeting there was also a discussion of the subject of the activity of the association for 1983. The United Nations has proclaimed next year as the "Year of Youth" and this will in part determine the work of the association. The association will continue to concern itself to a great extent with the peace issue and collaboration with all who are fighting to avert a nuclear catastrophe.

Ambassador Professor Dr Jaromir Sedlak, CSc., also spoke at the meeting of clergy. In his speech, he analyzed the contemporary international and domestic situation and discussed future development and what it may bring us at the close of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Humankind would like to live without threat of war, but it is high time to come to terms with other problems which are increasing in severity in the areas of energy, food and the environment.

Realistic and prudent people have on various occasions expressed their resistance to a mad arms race. Throughout the world there exist or are in the process of formating a multitude of religious organizations and movements which are helping to rouse world consciousness against the threat of nuclear destruction, which would be the final page of world history.

It is, therefore, obvious that our people and, with them, we, the Catholic clergy, should raise up our voices against senseless escalation in nuclear arms and make every effort to ensure that our government and our entire country are a happy home for all people.

The assembled participants of the meeting greeted Ladislav Hrasek of the Office of the Presidium of the CSSR. He assessed the Association of Catholic Clergy's peace activity up to the present and welcomed further suggestions which the association plans to realize in its future activity. He expressed the conviction that the relation between the Czechoslovak state and the Roman Catholic Church would continue to develop positively, with the Association of Catholic Clergy doing its rightful share.

The work meeting of chairmen and secretaries of regional associations of the CSSR was evaluated in a concluding address by head secretary Dr Zdenek Adler. He thanked the participants of the meeting and guests for their participation and assured them that the Czech and Solvak Catholic clergy, which are related by a deep brotherly tradition, wish to continue working in our country for the spiritual and material good of our people, and that we must, therefore, know the pulse of our government. Obstacles in the path of our progress cannot discourage us.

The participants of the meeting departed from this lovely Tatra setting encouraged by the knowledge of well-performed work and with optimism for the future.

Pacem in Terris Presidium Meets

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 41, 10 Oct 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Josef Mestan]

[Text] A meeting of the presidium of the Pacem in Terris Association of Cathalic Clergy of the CSSR was held on 21 and 22 September in Ostrava under the direction of its chairman, Prelate Doctor of Theology Antonin Vesely.

Prelate Josef Stastny, secretary of the Prague Association, recalled some significant activities of the Czech Association in the preceding part of this year, in particular the successful peace and theology seminar which was held at the end of August in Hradec Kralove on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the inauguration of the Second Vatican Council.

The activity of the Slovak Association was evaluated by its president, Canon Doctor of Theology Gejza Navratil, who traced out the tasks which still await the Slovak Association this year. Particular attention is being paid in Slovakia to preparations for discussions with clergy in which priests will be acquainted with topical issues of the contemporary struggle for peace in the light of the recent Moscow Pan-religious Conference. There are also preparations for a peace and theology seminar where, among other things, there will be a speech by Father Bishop Jozef Feranc entitled "On the Relation of Bishop to Priest According to the Second Vatican Council."

Particular attention was devoted to preparing for a meeting of the extended federal committee of the Pacem in Terris Association of the CSSR, which will take place on 11 and 12 October in Brno. On the theme: "The Struggle for Peace and Against Nuclear Catastrophe in the Light of the Second Vatican Council." This important conference will form the basis for holding regional conferences of associations.

Prelate Edmund Kempny, secretary of the Northern Moravian Association, reported on the meeting of chairmen and secretaries of individual regional associations in Dolni Smokovec on 6 to 8 September. The audience listened with interest to a lecture by Ambassador Dr Jaromir Sedlak on contemporary issues of international politics related to efforts of peace forces throughout the world to prevent a nuclear catastrophe.

The assembly warmly welcomed into their midst Bishop Doctor of Theology Josef Vrana, Apostolic Administrator of the Olomouc archdiocese. The Reverend Bishop recalled in his speech his recent visit to Rome and spoke of matters pertaining to this trip. He also acquainted his audience with the conclusions of a conference of all ordinaries of Czech regions held on 17 September in Litomerice, where there was discussion of questions of the mutual relations of the church and our state. There was great approval of the statement by this conference of the need for and importance of peace efforts in today's divided world.

Assembled clergy greeted S, Keppert, participant and vice president of the Northern Moravian Regional National Committee, who spoke on the problems of the Northern Moravian region and its important position in our country's economy. He recalled that, through the fault of the West, the world is on the brink of war. In fact war is being waged in some areas of the world. In this connection, he assessed the significance of the peace activity of the Association of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR.

On 16-19 November in Berlin, under the slogan "Peace to Humankind--Pardon and the Mission," a plenum of the Berlin Conference of Catholics from European Countries which will be attended by an honorary delegation from the association will take place. The presidium was acquainted with the program of this international peace forum by Zoltan Belak, member of the presidium of the Berlin Conference and capitular vicar from Roznava.

At the close of the conference, the representative of the administrative secretariat for church affairs of the Office of the Presidium of the CSSR Government, Ladislav Hrasek, spoke on contemporary and topical questions of the relations between church and state and assured the Association of Catholic Clergy of the CSSR of the support of our state in its peace endeavor. This activity is of course beneficial to church and state, since it strengthens the positive ties between them and in this way creates suitable conditions for continued development. [Joset Mestan]

9832
CSO: 2400/29

CULTURE MINISTER KLUSAK SPEAKS AT PIT MEETING

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACI in Czech 3 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[CTK Report on Speech by M. Klusak, Czech Minister of Culture, at a meeting of Pacem in Terris CSSR Committee in Brno: "Christians for Peace Against the Nuclear Threat"]

> [Text] Under the slogan "Struggle for Peace against a Nuclear Catastrophe in the Light of the Second Vatican Council," the city of Brno hosted a meeting of the expanded federal committee of the Association of Catholic Priests, Pacem in Terris CSSR.

In the principal address, the capitular vicar of Hradec Kralove, K. Jonas, emphasized that it is absolutely necessary for all honest Christians the world over to raise their voices and respond in no uncertain terms to the movement against the nuclear threat.

Czech Culture Minister M. Klusak recognized the efforts of the association on behalf of peace and, in the name of the government, expressed full support for the patriotic priests in their activities for peace and understanding among nations. M. Klusak in his address stated: "All our citizens, without distinction of their world outlook orientation, share in the achievements of our socialist society. We have always maintained and will continue to do so that all honest citizens of our state, be they religious believers or not, are invited to participate actively in building a developed socialist society. Our state is also truly interested in establishing good relations with the believers, as well as with the churches and religious societies recognized by the state. This approach is not motivated by any transient needs. We strive to establish stable and lasting conditions for the overall development of our socialisq society. Consequently, even our constitution in Article 32 guarantees freedom of religious persuasion: 'All citizens are free to belong to any church or be without religious affiliation, free to perform religious rites, provided they are not in violation of the law.'

"The relations of our state with the Roman Catholic Church are governed by principles which fully respect the hierarchical establishment of this church, its cult rules and other internal customs. The state expends considerable means on the material needs of all churches, personal emoluments of the priets, on education of candidates for priesthood, as well as on religious literature, press, etc. We cannot allow, however, the political conditions under which our churches function to be dictated from outside, nor allow the church to be involved in a political game the goal of which is an effort to weaken socialism.

In recent months, we have on numerous occasions clearly demonstrated our full support for further development of your association, and maintained that we wish and intend to defend it by every means, and develop and strengthen the peaceful and constructive cooperation in our internal social relations--stated concretely--relations between the state and the Roman Catholic Church. If the attempts, no matter how intensive, to disrupt these relations failed, it is in no small measure to the credit of your association which continues its work and whose members, without allowing themselves to be disoriented or intimidated, have demonstrated prudence and awareness of their civic responsibility. For this they have our sincere appreciation.

It is without doubt that the position of both assemblies of Roman Catholic ordinaries in the Czech and Slovak republics, taken recently in support of peaceful activities of Roman Catholic priests in our country, had greatly contributed to the calming of the situation. We believe that a constructive atmosphere is again being developed for the resolution of issues of interest to both the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak state.

A consolidated political situation in church affairs has always been and continues to be an essential prerequisite in the resolution of our internal problems, as well as for our negotiations with the Vatican. We believe that even the latter will be allowed to continue and take a constructive course."

In his conclusion, Minister M. Klusak stated: "You and your association, the same as everyone else, can fully avail yourselves of the right, opportunity and means to share in the achievement of the goals of a program which strives for nothing but peace in the world and undisturbed labor at home for the welfare of all people."

Some 300 Roman Catholic priests, along with their ordinaries, at their deliberations in Brno yesterday, assured the Czechoslovak Peace Committee of their active support in the preparation and course of the World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War, which had been convoked in June 1983 in Prague by the World Peace Council.

In their proclamation, the Catholic priests voiced their determination to continue their work on behalf of peace. They also welcomed the fact that the Czech and Slovak ordinaries had expressed their full support for the priests' peace efforts. In their proclamation, the priests stated: "We, Czechoslovak Catholic priests, are not silent in the face of the policy of nuclear blackmail, and we cannot maintain silence on the genocide which we have witnessed in Lebanon and Latin America. Such actions are in violation of Christian duty to one's fellow man, a crime against each individual's right to life and peace."

9496
CSO: 2400/24

PRESERVE COSMOS AS AREA OF PEACE, PEACEFUL COOPERATION

Prague LETECTVI A KOSMONAUTIKA in Czech No 19, 1982, pp 721-723

[Interview with V.S. Vereshchetin, doctor of sciences, deputy chairman of the INTERKOSMOS council and deputy director of the Institute for State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Mahulena Hoskova, secretary of the Czechoslovak national group for legal affairs of the INTERKOSMOS program; date and place not given]

[Text] Cosmic space, especially that part which surrounds Earth, has recently become a permanent workshop for mankind, a place where we put to practical use the latest scientific and technological discoveries, where the interests of future development logically lead to peaceful international cooperation, but where there is also danger of militarization. Technology, scientific findings and inventions in "cosmic dimensions" can be a source of prosperity and happiness for all mankind or, if misused by narrow imperialist or class interests, can threaten, in a manner hitherto unknown, the existence of human society and life on earth. For this reason, the second seminar of socialist countries currently assembled in Prague on the subject of cosmic law, will deal with the development of further cooperation with respect to problems of peace, seek solutions to questions emanating especially from cooperation within the INTERKOSMOS program, as well as discuss future cooperation among our individual countries in this sphere. The socialist countries desire that peaceful use and cooperation become the guiding principles of human endeavor in space. Their joint cosmic program, of which cosmic law is an integral part, is proof of this desire.

Prof V.S. Vereshchetin, one of the foremost experts in the sphere of legal science dealing with astronautics and the use of outer space, emphasized the progressive and peaceful approach to this problem in his responses for our publication.

[Question] Cosmic law is one of the youngest disciplines of international law. What role have the socialist states played at its birth?

[Answer] A very positive role. Most multilateral agreements in the sphere of cosmic law have been elaborated within the United Nations at the initiative and with very active participation of the socialist countries. This is also true in the case of the key Agreement on the Principles of States' Activity in Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Heavenly Bodies, and in the case of subsequent agreements which develop and complement the basic document. The latest of these (Agreement of States' Activities on the Moon and Other Heavenly Bodies) was approved by the United Nations in 1979. In this connection, I would especially like to note that constructive proposals in this field have been presented not only by the Soviet Union but, in varying degrees, by virtually all the countries of the socialist community. Also noteworthy is the fact that a Polish representative, Prof E. Wyzner, chairs the legal subcommittee of the UN Committee for Peaceful Use of Space, where the spadework is performed on the preparation of new agreements in the sphere of international cosmic law. The contribution of scientists from the socialist countries to the handling of scientific problems in this new branch of international law is generally recognized.

[Question] The socialist states explore cosmic space within the INTERKOSMOS program. We often hear talk of its international legal status. What is your view on this subject?

[Answer] The socialist states which have joined to implement the jointly prepared INTERKOSMOS program, did not choose to establish a separate international organization for this purpose. Due to the fact that the Soviet Union had placed space rocket transport at the disposal of its INTERKOSMOS partners without cost, the participants had no need to set up a joint budget and international infrastructure which would have been necessary for the production of such transport (as is the case, for example, with the European Space Agency [ESA] joining a number of West European states).

The successful practical cooperation in the INTERKOSMOS program and the basic scientific and practical results achieved in the course of the program's implementation, convincingly demonstrate that the established organizational forms of cooperation and their basic legal mechanism have fully proved their worth, This does not mean, of course, that one should not consider further improvement of this legal mechanism. One of the practical questions which arise in this connection is especially the form and methods of INTERKOSMOS cooperation as a body with other international cosmic organizations, and its representation at sessions of the UN Committee for Peaceful Use of Space, and other UN organs which deal with space exploration. These problems, among others, will be discussed at a cosmic law seminar of legal experts from the socialist countries.

[Question] The second seminar of the socialist countries on questions of cosmic law will take place in Prague. What in your opinion is the significance of the deliberations by specialists from the socialist countries on problems in this sphere?

[Answer] Many scientific and production collectives in our countries are participating in the joint effort under the INTERKOSMOS program. They produce very complex and often costly samples of new technology most of which are unique. It is natural that relations which emerge in this connection among states and individual organizations, require legal regulation and adjustment. The seminars of legal experts from the socialist countries bring them together to discuss legal problems which appear in the course of international cooperation, and to recommend ways of resolving them.

Thus, in the course of the first session which was held in 1979 in Warsaw, the experts dealt with the rights and obligations of the permanent working groups of specialists which work in the principal areas of cooperation. This deliberation played an important role in the preparation and adoption of the statutes by which the working groups are guided in their work. The Prague seminar, in addition to matters I have already mentioned, will deal with the important practical issues of legal protection of the joint scientific and technological achievements of cooperation both in the INTERKOSMOS member countries and in third countries. The legal experts from the socialist countries, dealing with problems of international cosmic law, will also discuss many other legal problems of work in space, which are now being studied at the United Nations.

[Text below photograph on p 722: The Soviet cosmic program envisages permanent international cooperation of the countries of the socialist camp, primarily within the INTERKOSMOS program, and its plans include joint undertakings with other countries as well. The flight of the first French cosmonaut serves as an example of this. The illustration above shows the docked combination of Salyut 6 and Soyuz 3, below is the antenna of an Intersputnik ground station, and on the opposite page the liftoff of the joint Soviet-French flight]

[Question] At the 27th IAF [International Astronautical Federation] Congress in Rome, held last year, your lecture on legal issues of manned space flight attracted well-deserved attention. Why did you choose this particular problem and what other issues may arise in connection with manned space flight which, in your opinion, should be dealt with on a priority basis?

[Answer] This problem caught my attention for two reasons. First, we are witnessing an increasingly intensive development in manned space flight and its internationalization. Suffice it to say that in the Salyut 6 orbital station alone, six people lived and worked for a total period of almost 2 years. Nine international crews worked at this station, a member of the first of which was your courageous countryman Vladimir Remek. Secondly, among the agreements on problems of international law in space, there is not a single one dealing specifically with the legal position of a cosmonaut in the execution of his flight mission and the emergence of so-called nonsystematized situations. In examining this issue, I have come to the conclusion that the needs of practical cosmonautics require further systemization of legal standards governing the life and work of man in space. Even now, for example, we need to define the rights and duties of the commander and members of the cosmic crew (including international ones), introduce more

precision in the position of cosmonauts in case of unplanned landing on foreign territory, and adopt a number of legal measures intended to improve the safety of cosmic flight, etc.

[Question] You frequently take part in the preparation and discussion of problems of cosmic law at the international level. What issues are being currently discussed, and what stage has been reached in their resolution?

[Answer] Development of cosmic technology and its broad use for practical purposes constantly create new problems of cosmic law which require international regulation. The list alone of those being currently dealt with in law journals and at various international gatherings, would take too much space. I will, therefore, limit myself to those which are at present on the agenda of UN organs which specialize in treaties on cosmic law.

Among these are the elaboration of legal principles regulating the activity of states with respect to the use of satellites for long-distance exploration of the Earth from space. Starting from the position that freedom of space must not be misused for violations of sovereign rights on Earth, the socialist states and many other countries have proposed that a legal norm be elaborated which would preclude the misuse of information on natural resources of foreign states acquired by means of space technology, against the legitimate national interests of these states. These proposals, however, have for several years been encountering opposition from the United States and certain other Western countries which reject any limitation of free use of cosmic space information of foreign--I underline foreign--national resources.

A negative posture has also been taken by the United States on another issue which has been on the UN agenda for a long time, namely, the formulation of legal principles governing direct television transmission by means of satellites. The socialist countries and a great majority of UN member countries are in favor of restrictions which would ban telecasts specifically beamed to foreign states, unless the target states expressed their approval in one form or another. Appropriate UN organs are also dealing with legal aspects of employing nuclear energy resources in space, and one of the old, as yet unresolved issues of international cosmic law, namely, the delimitation of the dividing line between the atmosphere which is covered by state sovereignty, and outer space which is open to all states for exploration and use. This question has recently become timely again in connection with illegal claims of a number of states from the equatorial region of their sovereignty over sectors of the geostationary path which, as is known, is found about 36,000 kilometers above the Earth.

[Question] Which are the important issues currently confronting, in your view, international cosmic law?

[Answer] The principal issue which has confronted and still confronts international cosmic law is not to allow the inclusion of space in any arms race, not to allow the transformation of outer space into a zone of international conflict, but rather preserve it as a sphere of peace and peaceful

cooperation. Unfortunately, existing international agreements merely assume important, nonetheless only partial, measures for the limitation of military operations in outer space. The most effective so far are those prohibitions applicable to the Moon and other heavenly bodies which, in accordance with a 1967 treaty, are to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. As regards so-called "inner space," the above-mentioned treaty forbids the placement in Earth orbit of nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction. Even before the signing of the treaty, a ban was instituted on nuclear explosions in space (as in the atmosphere and under water). Certain other barriers to the use of space for military purposes were also instituted.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have often presented proposals for further limitation and eventually a full ban on military activity in space. An example of such a Soviet initiative is the proposal presented to 26th UN General Assembly in 1981, which demands a treaty banning the placement of any weapons whatsoever in space One hundred twenty-three members of the United Nations voted for this proposal. From the dawn of the space era to the present, the countries of the socialist community have consistently advocated development of mutually beneficial cooperation in space, and a ban on its militarization.

9496
CSO: 8112/0192

YOUTH CONGRESS RESOLUTION OUTLINES FUTURE TASKS

Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 5 Oct 82 pp 3, 4

["Resolution of Third Congress of the Union of Socialist Youth [SSM] on the Tasks of the SSM and Its Pioneer Organizations [PO] After the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] The Third Congress of the SSM took place at a time of dedicated efforts by our people to fulfill the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress. We, members of the younger generation of our country, are also participating in this struggle, which is occurring under very demanding internal and external conditions.

The overall social atmosphere of recent years, the daily attention and assistance of the communist party and the socialist state, the full support of the National Front and the dedicated work of our members have made it possible for us successfully to fulfill the tasks adopted by the Second SSM Congress.

In accordance with the development requirements of the national economy, we have developed the labor activity of young men and women in the direction of increasing the effectiveness and quality of production, especially in key economic sectors. Simultaneously we have been devoting attention to intensifying the socialistic relationship of young people to work, to the responsible preparation of students and apprentices for their future occupations.

We have tried to see to it, particularly in our basic organizations, that the influence of the SSM on the thoughts and dealings of youth increase, so that they will move on from our ranks as aware, politically mature and professionally gifted citizens, comprehensively prepared to realize the tasks involved in the building of a mature socialist society. Our aim is to produce people committed to the defense of socialism, unabashed patriots and internationalists, friends of the Soviet Union and all countries of the socialist community, people determined to fight for peace and social progress. Thousands of the best of us have received the great honor of being candidates and members of the CPCZ.

Through our stimulation of the avocational activities of young people increasing numbers of young men and young women now systematically spend time in cultural, sporting, travel and other activities.

We have attempted to create the finest personnel and material conditions for the ongoing development of multifaceted, attractive, ideologically motivated work by Pioneer collectives. Our PO has grown, and more and more children are becoming involved in and satisfying their interests through its varied and rich activities.

We have also been devoting a great deal of attention to strengthening the ideological and organizational unity, as well as the capacity for action of our union. We have placed primary emphasis on the quality of the work of SSM basic organizations. Our participation in the administration and management of society has also increased. For instance, we have been involved in fulfilling the tasks of the National Front election program.

Many functionaries who today are working successfully in responsible positions in the national economy, social organizations and state agencies have come up through our ranks.

On the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism we have strengthened our cooperation with the All-Union Leninist Union of Communist Youth [Komsomol] and other fraternal youth organizations of the countries of the socialist community. Moreover, we have expanded our ties with progressive children's, student and youth organizations of capitalist and developing countries. We participate actively in the activities of the International Student Union [ISU] and the World Federation of Democratic Youth [WFDY]. We have achieved a further increase in the international prestige and authority of our union, which was evident in the successful conduct and results of the 11th Assembly of the member organizations of the WFDY in Prague.

The most recent 5-year periods have been among the most successful in the history of our united children's and youth organizations. The results we have achieved were recognized at the 16th CPCZ Congress. Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ general secretary and president of the republic, stated in his report on the congress that "The SSM is the acknowledged representative of the young generation, a close fellow warrior with the party."

We accepted this high evaluation with pleasure and pride. We will not, however, allow ourselves to fall prey to any kind of self-confidence. We are aware that along with the positive results of our efforts, our work also contains many areas of weakness, our activities are fraught with problems and shortcomings, and in more than one instance we are faced with superficiality and manifestations of formalism.

By the same token, we are well aware that the successful development of our country, the further advance of socialism, the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress demand great efforts from the people. At the same time, we are fulfilling these tasks under ever more difficult external and internal conditions, and the demands of all of us on life increase every day. All of this places great demands on the work of society, as well as on the SSM. For this reason it is essential to develop further the mission of the SSM and its Pioneer Organization, to increase the sophistication of their activities, and overcome more rapidly existing weaknesses and shortcomings.

We have adopted the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress as a guarantee of firm daily certainties for the present and for the happy future of the young generation. We are in full agreement with it and consider it as our own program. The fulfillment of this program demands the following from SSM organizations and organs:

I

The recruiting and motivation of young people for daily, conscientious participation in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan at wc kplaces, and the cultivation in them of a sense of responsibility for work performance. They must be convinced that an increased living standard for our people is conditioned on shifting our economy to an intensive development path, the wider utilization of research and development [R & D] findings, the more efficient management of all resources, higher quality work at every job, responsible preparation for an occupation, and concern for one's continuing political and professional growth. It depends on the recognition of and participation in the satisfaction of the legitimate needs and interests of the younger generation as a whole as well as of its specific age and social groups.

1. The participation of young people must be intensified in the assertion of scientific and technical progress as a basic precondition for the economic development of our society. The SSM and other organizations must contribute more effectively to the formation of a positive attitude toward science and technology by youth, and stimulate their interest in acquiring greater knowledge and improving their qualifications. They must exert more pressure for a prompter and broader application of R & D results, especially in the most promising sectors and professions, those which are less demanding of raw material and energy resources and require a highly qualified labor force.

They must strive to assure the broader participation of young people, and in particular of workers, technicians, apprentices and students in all aspects of the ZENIT movement, and in high school vocational and student scientific and professional activities. They must try to involve more young men and women in the improver and rationalizer movements and motivate them to participate actively, particularly at enterprises and in the R & D base, in the creation, fulfillment and monitoring of planned development programs, in the generation and implementation of inventions and improvements suggestions for assuring the tasks of scientific and technical development and production. They must set up additional teams of young technologists and natural scientists, especially at critical industrial and agricultural factories, and upgrade the quality of their work. The assistance of union organizations in developing the technical and natural science activities of Pioneer collectives must be substantially increased.

New comprehensive efficiency brigades [KRB] must be formed and their efforts, along with those of other collectives, focused above all on reducing the consumption of energy, metals and other raw materials, on increasing labor productivity and broadening export possibilities. Attention must be paid to taking advantage of underutilized capacity at specific workplaces and in enlisting the broader participation of young people, and particularly workers, in this

process. At the preproduction stage, young people should be encouraged to take more initiative in assuring high product quality, state-of-the-art performance characteristics and operational reliability, and on reducing the labor, material and energy intensiveness of their production and operation.

A comprehensive program of scientific-technical activities for children and youth must be developed in conjunction with state organs, National Front organs and their associated organizations, particularly the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement], the SDR [Union of Cooperative Farmers], and the CSVTS [Czechoslovak Scientific and Technological Society].

2. The SSM and other organizations must develop the activity of young people in all sectors of industry, but especially in mining, energy generation, metallurgy, machine building, electronics, chemistry, transportation and services so as to fulfill the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. They must participate in the implementation of the principles of the "Set of Measures to Improve the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980" under the conditions of individual workplaces, and in counterplanning. In the "Youth Efficiency and Quality Account for the Seventh 5-Year Plan" they must focus on a more accurate valuation of raw materials, energy and materials, a reduction in their consumption, on the adherence to a strengthening of conservation limits in all sectors. They must contribute more to the more efficient utilization of capital assets, to improved work force and worktime management, to a substantial increase in quality, to an improvement in supplier-consumer relationships. They must develop more actively varied forms of participation for young people in international socialist economic integration through international competition, and undertake partron responsibilities over export orders.

3. The SSM must increase its participation in the fulfillment of the tasks of the food and agriculture complex. By further developing the "Not a Grain Wasted" movement, it should contribute to a more rapid increase in plant production, particularly of grains, bulk fodder, sugar beets, potatoes, technical crops, fruits and vegetables, and to an improvement of their quality and utilization. The SSM must increase the participation of young people in fulfilling the tasks of livestock production, especially in increasing the useability of livestock and in more rational fodder management.

It must concentrate on the preservation and recultivation of the soil stock, on efficient soil utilization and on increasing crop yields.

Systematic attention must be devoted to the proper application of materials to protect plants and stimulate their growth, and to the use of fertilizers.

In the foodstuff and related processing industry, the SSM must participate in the economical utilization of all livestock and plant production and on the regular fulfillment of delivery requirements for consumer goods inventories.

4. Tasks must be completely fulfilled for the Third Nationwide Youth Construction Project, "The Southern Way." The SSM must further contribute to the building of the capital of the CSSR, Prague, the capital of the SSR, Bratislava,

and of the North Bohemian Kraj. It must successfully carry out its patron responsibilities for the construction of the nuclear energy generation facilities and water works on the Danube. It must continue the tradition of local, district and kraj youth construction projects, concentrating primarily on the building of facilities for children and for young people. It must intensify its role in the effective, high-quality and timely fulfillment of construction industry tasks, and on structural changes in this sector. It must aid in the introduction of two-shift operation, extended shifts during the summer, and other ways of increasing performance.

5. The SSM must be involved more actively in socially useful work, and further increase its participation in the fulfillment of National Front election programs. Through wider development of the Brontosaurus movement in the CSR and the Tree of Life movement in the SSR, it must foster more active participation by youth in the enhancement and protection of the environment.

6. The SSM must provide ongoing and effective assistance to youth group labor collectives and socialist work brigades [BSP], as well as forming new ones, especially at critical workplaces. It must increase their role in the fulfillment of production tasks and in the formation of the socialist consciousness of young people. In conjunction with economic and branch organs, it must create the conditions for them to assert their initiative. Participation must be improved in the development of socialist competition and, jointly with the ROH and other partners, the complexity of socialist competition must be enhanced and the entire program oriented to the critical problems of the workplace. The SSM must play a greater role in the undertaking and fulfillment of joint commitments. It must train the inspectors and staff of the Reflector of the Young to monitor the rigorous management of all types of fuels, energy and metals, the maximum valuation of raw materials and materials, especially those which have been imported. It must direct them to apply the results of research and development in practice, to utilize worktime well, to discover and then to eliminate underutilized capacity, to work to assure the harvesting without losses of agricultural products and their efficient processing.

7. The SSM must more effectively contribute to the preparation of the younger generation of workers for the fulfillment of their tasks, for an increase in their class consciousness, sense of collective responsibility and discipline. It must participate more significantly, in conjunction with trade union organs, in improving their working and living conditions.

Its influence on agricultural youth must be expanded more rapidly, and it must share in the strengthening of their socialist consciousness. Their sense of joint responsibility for the fulfillment of the tasks of agriclutural mass production must be further increased. In conjunction with organs of the ROH and of the SDR, the SSM must aid in the improvement of the working and living conditions of young men and women, especially those who are working in livestock production.

It must contribute to a deepening of the union between the young intelligentsia and working class and agricultural youth. It must stimulate their work and public activity, their creative and innovative approach to their tasks. Greater attention must be devoted to the first days and the learning period at first jobs as well as at subsequent new workplaces. The SSM must play a role in assuring that job descriptions correspond to the qualifications and abilities of each younger worker.

8. The SSM must deepen its role in the preparation of apprentices for their future occupations, in forming and developing their attitude toward work and toward their own creative activities. It must acquaint them to a greater extent with the work and life of the collectives, factories, and enterprises where they will eventually work. In conjunction with the ROH, it must expand and raise the quality of the reserve movement of the BSP. Professional activity at the high school level must be implemented more widely at state specialist training institutes. Greater attention must be paid to a smoother transition by students to the workplace. Additional patrons for working youth must be recruited and trained. Every effort must be made to assure that young graduates are integrated into good collectives where they can work with experienced workers and masters. Their interest in SSM work at the new workplace should be fostered.

9. The SSM must participate actively in raising the quality of preparation of gymnasium and state specialist training center students for their future occupations. In close cooperation with teachers, various forms of curriculum initiatives and rational preparation methods must be applied to the educational process. A favorable atmosphere must be created within class collectives, model students must be rewarded and mediocrity in studies and violations of school rules must be actively discouraged. An interest in the mastery of new scientific and technological findings must be stimulated and fostered by developing professional activities at the high school level. Participation should be increased at secondary professional schools in workmanship competitions. At the gymnasium level, assistance must be given to increase interest in the technical aspects of university curricula.

10. The role of the SSM in raising the quality of the university educational and acculturational process must be more thoroughly defined. This role must be concentrated on increasing accountability for the results achieved through studies. Greater consistency must be achieved in student scientific and professional activities, and these must be oriented more toward practical requirements. Efforts must be made to include more university students in KRB, to increase cooperation with councils of young professionals, to contribute more substantially to the preparation of university graduates for their future professions.

11. The participation of high school and university students in summer activities must be made more effective so that these activities become an ever more valid contribution to the national economy and to the professional and political preparation of the students.

Work must be completed on guidelines for and unified system of summer work activity for students in the national economy, and the SSM must play a role in creating the conditions for the extension of this program to young men and women between 14-18 years old.

12. The SSM must more conscientiously participate in the organization of the material and technical conditions of training at apprenticeship facilities, high schools and colleges. The participation of SSM organizations in an increase in the quality of social amenities for young men and women preparing for a future occupation and for the practical application of their training must be increased.

13. A comprehensive program must be developed for SSM organizations, beginning in the first and second high school and apprenticeship facility years, which corresponds to the specific characteristics of the 14-16 year age category.

II

There must be a more conscientious contribution, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, to the formation of the thought processes and sensibilities of young people in such a way that in their dealings they will display the characteristics of a good caretaker and conscious creator of a new society, prepared and committed to active participation in the building and defense of socialism. The SSM must participate jointly in the creation of the conditions for the comprehensive and harmonious development of young men and women.

1. It must devote attention to the mastery of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the comprehension of the policy of the communist party and the active support of this policy through conscientious participation in the building of a mature socialist society. Attention must be focused on intensifying a class understanding of social processes both at home and around the world. The antipeople character of anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda must be unmasked; we must take the initiative in defending and spreading the truth about the advantages and achievements of socialism, and consistently take a stand against all manifestations of bourgeois mentality. The revolutionary tradition of the working class, the CPCZ, and the progressive children's, youth and student movements must be systematically recognized and creatively developed.

2. The patriotic and international convictions of young people must be further intensified. The SSM must contribute to a strengthening in the brotherhood of Czechs and Slovaks and all nationalities living in our state. It must guard the friendship of and develop cooperation with the younger generation of the Soviet Union and its Komsomol, and with the young men and women of other countries of the socialist community. It must strengthen solidarity with the progressive youth of all continents, and contribute to the struggle for world peace and social progress.

Friendly ties must be systematically developed and strengthened. The working exchange of experiences in specific areas of activity with fraternal youth organizations must be expanded. In the orientation of these exchanges, greater use should be made of important milestones in the history of our peoples, the people of the USSR and of other countries of the socailist community and of the international progressive children's, youth and student movements. At the same time, close cooperation must be maintained mainly with the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League] and the CSSPB.

3. The effectiveness of the overall impact of the children's and youth press must be improved. Care must be taken that they still more convincingly represent our contemporary reality, that they materially and intelligently win over young people to the policy of the communist party. They must assist the younger generation in orienting itself in this class-divided world, concern itself with the pressing questions of their life, take the initiative in assisting them in the search for world views, and deal in more depth with scientific and technical development and the participation of young people in it. It must propagate the results of the work of the SSM and its Pioneer Organization, give coverage to exemplary employees and assist in resolving the pressing problems of the children's and youth movement by means of constructive criticism.

4. Young People must be motivated to perform more productive, higher quality and effective work, to intensify the educational role of the collective in the formation of a socialist attitude toward work and a socialist way of life. The specificity of content, targeting and overall sophistication of economic propaganda and motivational materials must be raised and a substantial improvement and modernization achieved in the forms and techniques of its development.

Personal motivational activities must be developed to a much greater extent, and greater use made of examples of dedicated, honorable young people, their exemplary work or study achievements and overall attitude.

5. The effectiveness of the SSM political education must be intensified. A differentiated approach must be consistently applied to the incorporation of young people into specific divisions according to their knowledge and experiences, and the sophistication of their work raised through conscious effort. Necessary changes in the content of political education and its organizational structure must be implemented so that this education can still more effectively contribute to the ideologically political preparation of organization members and other young people, so that it can take account of the specific conditions of individual social and age groupings of youth, and react consistently to actual problems of domestic and international political developments. At the same time, it must establish a working relationship with high school and university educational programs. The content and techniques for training propagandists must be refined.

6. The role of the SSM must be intensified in the strengthening of the moral and character traits of young people. It must take an uncompromising position against all manifestations of selfishness, the disruption of discipline,

hooliganism, vandalism and other antisocial activities. The active participation of the organs of the SSM and its PO, of basic organizations and Pioneer groups must increase in the prevention of criminal activity. Particular attention must be devoted to issues of legal education and propaganda.

A greater contribution must be made to the moral upbringing of young men and women, in conjunction with the influences of the family, school and workplace. The SSM must contribute more systematically to the creation of favorable conditions for young families at the workplaces and at places of residence. It must adopt a more active approach to the education of young men and women for married life and parenting, especially for the 14-18 year age group.

7. The free time of young men and women must be utilized to a greater extent for the development of their personalities. It must contribute to the formation of their socialist way of life. In conjunction with state organs, social and hobby organizations, the widest possible opportunities must be created for the satisfaction of the interests of young people, for the development of their involvement and creativity in all areas; culture, sports, science and technology, education generally. The exclusively socialist character, the ideological and educational value of all avocational activities must be deepened. On going attention must be devoted to training a corps of functionaries for this area.

8. Culturally educational activities must be further developed, in close cooperation with national committees and the organs and organizations associated in the National Front. The conditions must be created for the founding of new collectives for avocational artistic activity and to assit beginners in learning techniques. In addition to social enjoyment, activities must be developed of an educational character, providing an education in art through art and assisting in improving the general cultural content of behavior in interpersonal relationships. The organizing of viewings, competitions and festivals for avocational artists must continue, and club activities must be improved by increasing their ideological and esthetic sophistication. Avocational activities in the natural science and technical areas must be developed on a much wider scale.

Efforts must be made to assure the more active participation of younger artists in the culturally educational activities of the SSM. They must be assisted in working with the Ministry of Culture and artistic unions to foster their professional growth, ideological training and the application of their skills.

Artistic creation for children and youth must be conscientiously supported. Care must be taken that the union publishing houses, Mlada Fronta and Smena, publish books of high ideological and artistic value which depict faithfully the multifaceted life of the young people of a socialist society, volumes on subjects of science and popular science, as well as titles of beginning and other younger authors.

The existing SSM facilities must be utilitzed more effectively for culturally educational activity. Ways must be sought for utilizing more extensively the facilities of national committees, ROH, JZD [Unified Agricultural Cooperatives] and other organizations for cultural experiences, especially in residential areas.

9. Physical education, sporting and tourist activities must be developed as an ongoing component of the programs of every basic organization. Cooperation must be deepened with national committees, the CSTV [Czechoslovak Physical Education Union] and Svazarm [The Union for Cooperation with the Army] in defining and implementing joint programs for the mass development of physical education and sport. Efforts and resources must be merged to further increase the impact on young people, to satisfy their interests and to strengthen physical competence and develop the positive aspects of their personalities. Existing possibilities must be more consistently utilized for improving the training and employment of the organizers of these activities, provide for their greater stabilization, especially at the level of the basic organizations. More substantial participation must be achieved in fulfilling the conditions for the Certificate of Physical Competence, with the objective of having a majority of the young men and women of 14-18 years of age eventually be holders of this certificate.

Touring must be enriched by forms of active recreation, and expanded to include the offerings of the SSM CKM [Youth Travel Office] and the activities of additional union facilities. Efforts must be increased in the building of simple playing areas, health centers and other playing fields, and in seeing to the effective utilization of those which already exist.

The influence of union groups and organizations in all sporting facilities and collectives must be increased so that young sportsmen may express their tie to the socialist society through conscientiousness in their training, exemplary conduct on the playing fields and, moreover, by honorably representing our homeland.

More systematic attention must be devoted to military training for young people and to training in the defense of their socialist homeland. In this way, the SSM participates in the fulfillment of the tasks of the Unified System of Defense Training for the Population. The SSM must contribute conscientiously to the formation of a defense consciousness on the part of young people, in cooperation with units of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army], SNB [National Security Corps], the Border Patrol, MV [Ministry of the Interior] soldiers, and with social organizations, primarily Svazarm, the CSCK [Czechoslovak Red Cross] and the SPO [Fire Prevention Union]. The work of union groups at defender training centers must be improved, and the SSM must contribute to an increase in the quality of military preparation of university students. It must work to create, in close cooperation with state institutions, Svazarm, and other social organizations, favorable conditions for the mass development of avocational activities in the areas of military technology and military-related sports.

Patronage responsibilities must be carried out consistently toward selected military colleges. Much greater attention must be devoted in union collectives to youths who step from their midst to fulfill the tasks of basic military service.

10. Assistance must be given to the commanders, officers and political organs in the armed forces and security units in the education of young members concerning their position of responsibility in relation to the tasks of military

and political training and the performance of their duties. In the work of the SSM basic organizations, activity must be developed which will contribute to the fulfillment of the critical tasks of units and divisions and assist in the education of politically and professionally advanced members, the strengthening of their class sensibility, vigilance and watchfulness. Young members of the armed forces must be better and more effectively prepared for work in civilian life. In particular, care must be taken to see that their experiences from military, sporting and cultural activities which they gained during basic military service receive wider application in organizations at factories, schools, residential areas and in Pioneer groups.

11. The balance between the sensibilities, thoughts, and dealings of young people in the interest of socialism and world peace, as manifested during their daily implementation of communist party policy must be considered to be the critical indicator of the effectiveness of all ideologically educational influences. Full use must be made of an honorable right--to be the sponsor of a young person for entry into the ranks of the CPCZ. The best members must be prepared more conscientiously for entry and actively assisted in the fulfillment of their candidate tasks. This is especially true for young workers and farmers.

III

Comprehensive, attractive, ideologically motivated activities must be further developed in all Pioneer collectives. More effective contributions are to be made in this way to an expansion of the influence of the SSM PO on the younger generation, so that children will develop harmoniously and comprehensively, so that they may be healthy and educated, and so that they prepare themselves conscientiously to build and defend their homeland and the interests of socialism.

1. The attention of the entire SSM PO must be turned to the priority task of every Spark and of every Pioneer; to study well, to master the basic knowledge and skills necessary for life and work in a mature socialist society. Children must be motivated to perform socially productive activities, and acquainted with the results and the social significance of their work.

2. Children must be acquainted with the history of the CPCZ, the traditions of the working class both here and throughout the world, above all through concrete examples from the locations where they live. The importance of socialist patriotism must be explained to them, as well as that of proletarian and socialist internationalism. The friendship between Czech and Slovak Pioneers must be strengthened, along with cooperation with fraternal children's organizations. Children must be motivated to participate actively in projects expressing solidarity with children of countries and peoples which are struggling for their liberation and independence.

3. Pioneer activities must be organized so as to satisfy as well as possible the interests of children, to aid them in enriching the knowledge and skills they acquire in school, at home and in social organizations, so as to awaken within them new creative abilities and contribute to their harmonious development and training for a future occupation. The SSM PO Educational System

for Sparks and Pioneers, which was developed on the basis of actual experiences, must be applied consistently and to its full extent, and additional enlightened techniques and forms of work with children must be developed.

4. The relationship of children to the SSM PO and to the SSM itself must be deepened, and the preparation of future SSM members considered to be a priority educational objective.

5. The administrative and organizational work of the organs of the SSM PO must be impoved. The capacity for action of the entire organization must be increased, and the discipline of individuals and of collectives strengthened. Work with the Pioneer leadership must be improved, and its participation in the running of Pioneer units, divisions and groups emphasized. Particular attention must be devoted to increasing the quality of the management by division and group leaders. The SSM PO councils at all levels must provide them with systematic methodological assistance.

6. Conditions must be assured for the successful work of Pioneer collectives. Constant attention must be devoted to the selection and education of division leaders and instructors, especially those from the very ranks of the SSM PO. Informal patron attention of basic SSM organizations for Sparks and Pioneers must be more widely developed, with an emphasis on help in resolving issues of personnel and materials. In cooperation with schools and national committees, efforts must be made to provide more favorable conditions in terms of materials and space for Pioneer activities.

7. Cooperation must be further intensified with schools, the family, social and avocational organizations belonging to the National Front, national committees and other factors in the educational system. Emphasis must be placed primarily on implementing this cooperation broadly at the basic organization level with the objective of making a larger contribution to an improvement of the personnel and material conditions for the functioning of Pioneer collectives. The impact of groups of friends of the SSM PO must expand further.

IV

The role of the SSM must be increased in deepening socialist democracy, strengthening the sense of joint responsibility of the younger generation for the further development of a socialist homeland.

1. At the basic organization level, there must be an assertion of the unity of rights and responsibilities of young people and an atmosphere created which will motivate their creative activity and initiative. Consistent efforts must be made at constructive criticism, at a broad exchange of views on social problems and the means for resolving them. These basic organizations should present their proposed solutions and position papers to party, state and economic organs and request that no important issue be evaluated without the participation of youth. A contribution must be made to the preparation of young people for the administration of public affairs by allowing them a greater degree of participation in the management of their basic organizations.

2. There must be a substantial increase in the participation of basic organizations in production management and production planning in all sectors of the national economy. Production conferences organized by the ROH and the economic leadership must be utilized to a greater extent to resolve the problems of young people, to foster their acquaintance with the tasks of the workplace and an orientation toward their fulfillment.

Participation of union organizations must be increased in the administration of the daily life at apprenticeship facilities, secondary schools and colleges, youth homes, and university dormitories.

3. Young delegates must receive systematic help in the performance of their demanding function. The work of the corps of young delegates must be increased in quality. The number of SSM members on national committee commissions and on citizen committees must be increased. Experienced SSM functionaries must be more thoroughly prepared to perform functions in the entire political system.

Many more initiative proposals and position papers should be submitted on issues being debated by national committees, and there should be more active participation in the formation and implementation of their economic, social and cultural policies.

There should be active participation in the formation of National Front policies, and initiative proposals and position papers should be submitted to its organs.

4. Cooperation with the organs and organizations associated in the National Front must be improved in the area of the education of the younger generation. Joint educational programs run in conjunction with the ROH, SDR, the CSCZ [Czechoslovak Women's Union], the SCSP, the CSVTS, organizations of our cooperative sector, the CSTV, Svazarm, the CSSPB, the CSCK, the SPO and other social avocational organizations must be intensified especially at the level of okres and basic organizations and cooperation increased in the utilization of public resources.

5. Basic organizations in national committees and other institutions must be oriented toward active participation in the elimination of bureaucratic approaches, excessive paperwork, insensitive and haughty attitudes toward people and other difficulties. They must contribute to the education of young national committee employees in such a way that they carry out their work with a high sense of responsibility, fully qualified and familiar with the matters at hand.

V

Work techniques of the SSM organs and organizations must be improved, organizational and ideological unity strengthened, and the many activities of the basic organs developed in a planned manner. The influence of the union on nonorganized youth must be expanded, and they must be recruited for political and public activity.

1. Systematic attention must continue to be devoted to deepening the influence of the SSM on other young people, expanding the membership base, especially from the ranks of young workers, farmers and apprentices. The SSM organizational structure must be improved, both in agriculture and in state specialist training institutes and colleges. More effective preconditions must be created for the development of activities in residential areas.

2. In basic organizations, concentrated attention must be devoted to the satisfaction of the legitimate needs of young men and women, while an active contribution must be required from them in the activity of the entire collective. The individual work of committees with young people must be significantly deepened. Care must be taken that specific objectives correspond more to the interests, abilities and possibilities of specific members, that they be an instrument of their direct participation in the life of the basic organization. The fulfillment of these objectives must be monitored and evaluated regularly. Member meetings must be utilized to a greater extent to unify the interests of the collective with those of the individual, with the needs of localities, schools and workplaces.

Concern for the basic organization must be considered the most crucial area of activity for organs at all levels. They must change their style of work thoroughly in the interest of direct ties with functionaries and members. The approach of the basic organizations in the area of their authority must be unified to a greater extent in enterprise, all-factory, all-school, all-training center and faculty committees. Leeway must be created for the development of individual activity. Efforts must be made to establish further SSM groups and to increase their role in the work of basic organizations.

In the work of district committees, the stress must be on generalizing and expanding the positive experiences of basic organizations. A differentiated approach must be intensified toward lagging as well as newly established organizations. Existing information must be used more effectively for more efficient political-organizational and administrative work. The quality of instructor committee work must be improved, and assistance for beginning functionaries must be entrusted to seasoned functionaries more than in the past.

The creative approach of kraj committees to work with the resolutions of higher organs must be further intensified. There must be a greater application of a differentiated approach to the management of district committees. Their capacity for action must be increased as it applies to their impact on basic organizations.

In central organs, there must be a planned evaluation of the critical objectives for activity development. Efforts must be made to assert a better thought out division of labor, the wider dissemination of experiences from the activities of leading organizations and collectives, the overcoming of a campaign mentality, the intensification of conceptualizing and inspecting activity. Evenhanded methodological assistance must be provided to kraj and district SSM committees.

3. The comprehensive system must be deepened and the effectiveness increased of the training of the voluntary functionary corps, and the ranks of the latter stabilized. Concentrated attention must be devoted primarily to the youngest members who work at secondary and apprenticeship facilities. Arbitrariness in the choice, education and assignment of cadres must be eliminated from personnel work. More work must be done with those who bring with them experiences from the Pioneer leadership corps. There must be a purposeful creation of personnel reserves, especially for basic organization committees. Greater attention must be paid to the inclusion of young women in positions of authority.

Care must be taken to assure that the activities of the councils and commissions assit elected organs to a greater extent in implementing a differentiated approach to individual age and social groupings of young people.

4. There must be a further increase in the quality of the material-technical and financial assurance of activities, a more thorough implementation of planning discipline, economic discipline, and adherence to the principles of great efficiency in the activities of all organs and organizations. Actual incomes must increase further, and the material-technical base must develop in a more balanced manner. All existing resources and facilities must be used more efficiently, and capital investment must be undertaken with maximum effectiveness. Systematic attention must be devoted to the monitoring and inspecting activities of SSM and the SSM PO.

VI

International activities are to assist consistently in the fulfilling of the foreign policy strategy of the 16th CPCZ Congress, and in asserting its principles within the international progressive movements of children, youth and of students. There must be a more active contribution to the struggle for world peace and progress.

1. The center of gravity for these international activities must be the comprehensive expansion and deepening of fraternal cooperation with the Komsomol and other organizations of children, youth and students in the countries of the socialist community. All proven forms of mutual cooperation must be further intensified. Emphasis must be placed on the expansion of ties primarily at the basic organizational level.

2. Ties must be intensified and cooperation developed with all communist, revolutionary and democratic organizations in developing and capitalist countries. A contribution must be made to the strengthening of the unified front of progressive world youth for peace and disarmament, against imperialism, for social progress and the rights of youth. There must be an expansion of solidarity and cooperation with the progressive youth of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their struggle for freedom and independence.

3. Youth must be further mobilized for the struggle to strengthen peace in the world, to support all steps directed at reducing international tensions.

A contribution must be made to the implementation of the resolution of the 11th Assembly of the member organizations of the WFDY on the development of an antiwar campaign, "Worldwide Youth Project Against the Nuclear Threat and For Peace and Disarmament." A role must be played in the organization of significant mass antiwar demonstrations. In cooperation with the broad antiwar front of young people and students and other peaceful forces, there must be an active contribution to the struggle for world peace and progress, against the threat of war and for disarmament and social justice on the entire planet. A role should be played in the implementation of mass demonstrations within the framework of the "March of Peace" on the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism.

The creation of the SSM Solidarity Fund from the proceeds of publicly useful work of the SSM collectives and individuals must continue to be considered a concrete manifestation of the international sensibilities of our young men and women.

4. There must continue to be an initiative-taking role in the comprehensive activities of the WFDY and the ISU, in the implementation of the programs of both organizations and the strengthening of their authority. The best possible conditions must be created for the work of the ISU in Prague. A contribution must be made to the realization of the ideas for a world festival of youth and students, and that efforts be made to assure that the contribution to its honorable development turn out to be the Twelfth World Festival of Youth and Students.

These are the main objectives and tasks of the SSM and its PO for the foreseeable future. We have outlined them with an awareness of our joint responsibility for the further development of socialism in our country. They follow fully on the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the successful fulfillment of which is in the most direct interest of the younger generation, in the interest of a clam and happy life for our country.

Let us do everything to assure that in the upcoming period we fulfill our mission honorably of being the recognized representative of the younger generation and a close fellow warrior of the communist party.

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RESTRUCTURE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION VIEWED BY MINISTER

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, 1982 pp 109-118

[Article by Milan Vondruska: "Substantive Restructuring of Secondary Education"]

[Text] For 6 years, in accordance with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, in the whole area of school education we have been realizing the important program document "Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training and Educational System" approved by the decision of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee on 4 June 1976. The past 6 years have been filled with intensive work of all educators and administrators; it was closely followed by parents and received vital support of the national committees and social organizations of the National Front, especially the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Organization], the SSM [Union of Socialist Youth], the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League], the CSTV [Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training], and the like. It involves a comprehensive restructuring of the socialist school in close relationship to practice. Its goal is a school which would provide a reliable base for the socialist and communist life and become an important factor in the buildup of the developed socialist society which, in the sense of the Marxist-Leninist teaching, is based on and concerned with superior preparation of cadres.

The project of "Further Development of the Czechoslovak Educational System" represents a long-term demanding program. Its realization will bring about a strengthened democratic character and modernization of the educational and training system and thus systematic elevation of the educational level of the young generation in particular. The document has the form of a comprehensive political program and is closely linked to the goals and tasks of the CPCZ.

We must constantly keep in mind this starting point. Particularly so when we deal with any sector of the educational system in which the priority—according to the new concept established by the "Project"—is the integration of the various levels and types of schools, their unity of content, organization and administration. In the present epoch of scientific and technological revolution, our entire educational system must make full use of the advances of science and technology. From the viewpoint of the preparation of the young generation and its proper employment in the labor force, it is necessary that the training and educational system in certain sense be even ahead of science

and technology. School graduates must be prepared to work with the latest technology, to utilize the most recent scientific knowledge, including its application. Furthermore, the young people must be able to develop steadfastly progressive socialist ideas in all fields of human endeavor and knowledge, not only for the next decade but with the perspective of the third millenium, when the students of today will be at the peak of their productive life.

Concurrently with the realization of the new concept of training and educational process in the primary schools and with rationalization, quality of curricula and optimum length of college studies, we therefore began qualitative restructuring of the secondary training and educational system. It consists of three channels of secondary school education: secondary vocational training centers, secondary vocational schools and gymnasia. These three channels have a general educational and polytechnical basis; their differentiation is in the nature and the mission of the individual types of secondary schools, i.e., from the viewpoint of the placement of their graduates in production and public life. At present, the general importance of secondary schools rose greatly also for the reason that starting with 1984, the entire youth population will be completing the obligatory 10-year school attendance in the first 2 years of secondary schools.

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Secondary vocational training centers occupy the key position among secondary schools. About two-thirds of young people acquire their education there and a steadily rising number of students and apprentices will receive complete secondary education at secondary vocational training centers (SOU). Therefore from the platform of the 16th CPCZ Congress the Report on the Activity of the Party and the Development of Society, presented by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Comrade Husak, specified: "We must continue to devote great care to the rise of quality of the secondary schools. We shall give special attention to the work of secondary vocational training centers that are training young laborers. The ministries, the economic production units [VHJ], the cooperatives and the national committees must regard this education as one of the foremost tasks." (16th CPCZ Congress, Prague, SVOBODA 1981 p 46)

The basic method of our further progress toward developed socialist society is intensification, rationalization and higher quality of work. This calls for a new way of thinking, development of creative forces, changes in ourselves and thus literally a drastic change in the way of life of the whole society. The current and prospective demands on the work and standing of the laborer in the production process require rapid, effective and comprehensive modifications of the content, concept and methods of training of the young generation of the working class. Young workers must be taught to learn to apply, in close cooperation with the socialist intelligentsia, scientific and technical knowledge in practice and help advance technological and social progress.

The goal of the training and educational process in the preparation of the young generation of the labor force is therefore not merely a reproduction of a qualified force but education of a man--a producer of a new type. A man who strives to fulfill public tasks and who not only benefits from all the advantages of socialist society but who is faithful to the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Preparation of the youth for laborer occupations has been concentrated in the new system on a single type of training and educational institution, the SOU. The establishment of the network of SOU was the basic and key step for new quality in the training and education of apprentices. At present, the CSR has 599 SOU in which 264,000 student-apprentices are preparing themselves for their future occupations. In the next stage, effort will be concentrated on the quality of work of the SOU and on the procurement of necessary materiel and cadre conditions. Among other things, it will deal with the achievement of stabilization of the internal structure of SOU. This means that the training and study fields will be established and small groups of student-apprentices will be brought together in one SOU. In this connection, the Ministry of Education requires from the central organs in whose jurisdiction the youth is being trained for laborer occupations that they make the firmest possible decisions concerning the structure of the training and study fields in the SOU. At the same time a legal regulation is being prepared, which will make it possible to properly assign small groups of student-apprentices to the pertinent SOU.

The significant change in the apprentice schooling is the new content of training concretized by the introduction of a system of training and study disciplines of a new concept. This new system was introduced in five stages in the years 1977 to 1981. It now comprises 38 2-year vocational training disciplines, 102 3-year vocational training disciplines, 25 4-year vocational training disciplines completed by a graduation examination, and 34 continued education training disciplines in the secondary schools for the workers. The vocational training and study disciplines of the new system have not only updated the vocational training component but at the same time reinforced the general educational and polytechnical content of the training. Conditions are thus established for the SOU to represent the obligatory 10-year school attendance and at the same time meet the requirement for broad general training of the student-apprentices, including their ability to adjust properly to the constant development of science and technology.

The key premise for the achievement of the new goals in the training of the young generation of workers is proper qualification of instructors in the SOU. For the time being many such centers are employing general education teachers certified for teaching in the primary schools only and some instructors of special subjects without the required college qualifications. The Ministry of Education opened complementary studies at the universities in order to gradually improve the qualification structure of teachers at SOU. As far as the qualifications of the masters in the vocational training centers are concerned, use is made of the possibilities of distant (or external) study at the secondary schools for workers. The regional national committees in close cooperation with VHJ should provide for adequate scope of this form of study on the basis of actual needs.

The question of administration of the SOU is also an important task both in the sphere of action of economic departments and VHJ and of the Ministry of Education and education departments of the regional national committees. In particular, we must gradually remove the dual administration and better define the responsibility of the education and economic departments.

The quality of work in SOU also depends on the adequate supply of all needed textbooks and training texts. This represents one of the most demanding tasks being solved at present by the Ministry of Education. Methodological guidelines concerning training aids and teaching procedures for SOU were also issued in order that this new type of secondary school gradually become equivalent to the other channels of secondary education, i.e., the gymnasia and the secondary technical schools which are sustained by long tradition and great experience.

The main component of the training and education of student-apprentices is without doubt the school which, of course, will not be the only factor forming the whole profile of the young person. After being educated at an SOU boys and girls enter directly the production process, the "reality" of life. From the viewpoint of further development of their personality, this is often decisive. The selection of instructors, cadre workers, who are involved in the development of a young beginner-worker, must therefore be approached with utmost care. Graduates of SOU should be assigned to the best work collectives: among workers assuring their further positive development.

When we evaluate the current stage of the realization of the substantive and organizational restructuring of the preparation of the youth for workers' occupations, we may state that essential favorable changes were attained in the education of the youth. The main tasks for the secondary vocational training school after the 16th CPCZ Congress are now mainly directed at systematic improvement of the quality of communist education of the young generation of workers. It means to prepare them so that they acquit themselves in the complex political and economic conditions and by their study achievements and concrete acts contribute to the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress. Among other things this will involve consistent observance of the curricula, superior methodological preparation and the best possible utilization of time in the entire training of student-apprentices.

A new legal regulation concerning primary and secondary schools is being prepared for 1 January 1984; it naturally also includes SOU, where the substantial part of the young generation will be completing the obligatory 10-year school attendance. Timely issuance of all legal and organizational regulations and norms which will replace the existing regulations of the present transitional period, and the solution of the stated tasks is a matter of honor and endeavor of all concerned with education, whether they be in the central organs, regional national committees or general management of VHJ. Particularly important will be the devoted and creative work of all superintendents of SOU, the superior training and educational work of instructors, masters of vocational training and educators.

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The second of the three channels of secondary education that at present is undergoing the greatest changes in its study content, and thus in the profile of the graduates, is the gymnasium. While developing the new concept of gymnasium education we are proceeding from the critical analysis of the current state. Higher emphasis on the theoretical side of instruction was the reason

the gymnasium did not meet adequately the principle of close relationship between school and life. In particular, it did not correspond to the new demands on applicants for university education in the epoch of scientific and technological revolution and did not give an opportunity for suitable employment to those graduates who did not enter the university.

Through a system of subjects taught and the content, forms and methods of instruction the new uniform curriculum of the gymnasium primarily emphasizes the polytechnical nature of all instruction. Subjects of vocational training have been introduced as a new obligatory component of the studies. Substantive restructuring of the gymnasium, therefore, consists mainly in the transition from often disproportionately demanding theory to functional knowledge which can be applied directly in life. The abilities of each student are thus generally developed and the socialist personality of the young person is harmoniously formed not only from the viewpoint of education but in the pedagogical sense of the word. The much more emphasized learning of basic skills in laboratory procedures and exercises also contributes to it to a greater degree. Polytechnization of gymnasium education per se today would not be sufficient, however. The goal of the gymnasium is to prepare the graduate both for college and for direct employment. This dual function of the gymnasium requires that the educational process be enriched by a new component, i.e., vocational training, represented specifically by the mentioned obligatory elective groups of vocational subjects. It does not mean, however, some kind of "duplication" of the secondary vocational schools or the SOU, or an effort to "compete" with these two types of secondary schools, as the introduction of vocational training in the gymnasium is sometimes erroneously understood and interpreted. The new quality of gymnasium education seeks above all more effective preparation of the graduates for further studies at the universities and concurrently their social equalization with the graduates of other secondary schools. When the student at the gymnasium successfully passes the graduation examination in vocational subjects, he acquires qualification for selected areas of work in the national economy.

This also follows from the arrangement of the vocational component of instruction which specializes in the third and fourth years on the basics of mechanical and electrical engineering, construction, industrial chemistry, agricultural production, economics and production organization, programming and computer systems, or mining and metal engineering, geology of deposits or cultural educational activity.

The substantive restructuring of gymnasium education places high demands on the department of education and needs the assistance and cooperation of other departments, including scientific research institutes. Consistent implementation of the education policy line of the CPCZ obligates practically the whole society to active and initiative assistance. It involves materiel aid such as, for example, equipping of the schools with vocational shops, laboratories and aids, or cadre assistance, mainly the assistance of engineers teaching vocational subjects. With their rich work experience and personal relation to the enterprises, plants and cooperatives they provide a vivid link between the school and the workplace or scientific establishment. These specialist-instructors, with their enthusiasm for the pertinent field and their deep knowledge of it often attract the students and later motivate them in the choice of study fields at the university.

Lack of understanding of the basic principle of vocational training--the idea that such training is merely a matter of schools--is one of the main current problems. The gymnasia would welcome additional institutions and VHJ entering into close cooperation with the Ministry of Education as did, for example, the CSR Ministry of Construction; negotiations are under way assigning tasks related to vocational training of the gymnasium students to the enterprises under its jurisdiction in the individual regions of the CSR.

Introduction of elective groups of vocational subjects into the gymnasia, specific selection of vocational specialization at any one school, requires thorough preparation not only by the school administration but by the regional school organs as well. Each school must first have proper materiel conditions, cadre composition of the teaching faculty, established cooperation with the local plants, cooperatives, institutions and other secondary schools. The outcome of a responsible, deliberate approach to the gradual creation of conditions for vocational education is that the task of the introduction of vocational training is proceeding in all regions of the CSR on the whole successfully, although not without problems and some shortcomings.

In the school year 1981/1982, the new plan of education with vocational training subjects was introduced at 166 gymnasia (in West Bohemian and South Bohemian regions all gymnasia already have elective groups of vocational subjects). In the current school year another 22 schools have been added (i.e., almost 90 percent of all gymnasia). Complete introduction of vocational subjects in the gymnasia is expected by 1 September 1984. The quantitative viewpoint for realization and evaluation of the substative restructuring of the gymnasium understandably is alone not enough. The interests of students must also be channeled to the priority fields of university studies so that they be employed where they are most needed by the socialist society. In practical terms this means that the students should be guided at the gymnasium toward the technical vocational subjects such as, for example, the basics of mechanical and electrical engineering. For the time being, however, the main interest is still centered on the basics of economics and organization of production (less than 14 percent of the students elected mechanical engineering). This ratio must be gradually and prudently modified.

The expanding range of the fields of study at the gymnasium in the subjects of vocational training also requires constant broadening of the scale of professions for which the graduates are being prepared as qualified workers. The Ministry of Education is solving these problems with the pertinent organs and departments to insure that the employment of the graduates of gymnasia in the individual areas of the national economy correspond to the acquired vocational qualifications. This is also important for those graduates who do not complete university study and who are seeking employment with the graduation certificate from the gymnasium.

In connection with the new concept of training and educational work of the primary school, starting with the school year 1979/1980 we also began to test the new substantive concept of training and education at the gymnasium. We are testing not only the new content but also new work forms and methods, in particular consistently with those students who already had experimental

instruction in primary school. The experimental testing of the new lesson plans, lesson outlines, texts and methodological aids is concerned with establishing how the training and educational goals of the gymnasium are met. It is not a mere formality; but the teachers of the experimental schools and the teachers of other gymnasia, the regional pedagogical institutes, scientific institutions including the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and not lastly, the public are asked to comment on the legal regulation. The proposed new modified lesson plans (so far for the first and second years of the gymnasium) were recently published in the professional journals as background information for the preparation of pedagogues.

It may be stated preliminarily that the lesson plans for some subjects were redimensioned in substance and did not allow the instructor to use new stimulating instructional methods in his work with the students. It is also clear that the concept itself will have to be modified for the individual subjects in order to better correspond to the training and vocational goals. For instance, curricula were modified for chemistry and mathematics, and corrections were made in other subjects as well. Thorough analysis of the results of experimental testing of the new concept of training and education on the gymnasium continues. Starting with 1 September 1984, when the new concept of training and educational work will be introduced generally in all first grades, all gymnasia will have to have the needed basic pedagogical documents, that is, the plans of instruction and lesson outlines, including the textbooks. All instructors must also be prepared thoroughly for the teaching of the new vocational content.

In the school year 1981/1982 the gymnasia graduated the first students who had studied according to the new experimentally tested concept of training and education. The graduation examination of these students also reflected some changes, not only in its content but in its concept and form--a logical outcome of the 4-year cycle of experimentally tested study. The subjects of the graduation examination emphasize comprehensiveness of the content of graduation questions; the student must demonstrate not only his theoretical knowledge but above all his ability to apply it independently to practical examples and thus show his ability to utilize it. Successful meeting of the stated goals--as mentioned before--is not the responsibility of the school departments alone but of the entire socialist society. Under the direction of the CPCZ party organizations the communists in cooperation with nonparty members play here an important role, just as do the national committees in the regions, districts and towns, and public organizations, especially the ROH and the SSM. Full support of the Parent-Teacher Association of the VHJ is necessary as well. The gymnasia must fulfill successfully their responsible mission--to prepare well the young generation for college and also for direct and successful entry in the labor force.

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As the program of further development of the Czechoslovak educational system is being realized, gradual changes are also being made in the third channel of secondary schooling--the secondary vocational school. The social mission of these schools rests in the preparation of qualified medium-level personnel

for technical and economic work in the most varied branches of the national economy. Secondary vocational schools in our country have had a significant successful tradition in good preparation of medium-level vocational cadres. The vast economic and social tasks that were set for the individual branches of the national economy by the 16th CPCZ Congress touch directly and significantly the entire area of secondary vocational schools. Among the essential problems of the educational concept as a whole is the optimum accord between the rising level of general polytechnical education and the rising level of vocational training.

Both national ministries of education together with all the departments prepared prospective profiles of the graduates of the secondary vocational schools in accordance with the new concept of instruction and education: the young person should not only acquire a certain sum of knowledge and skills of the polytechnical, economic and other nature but necessary moral qualities as well, which he will definitely need as the future active builder of the developed socialist society.

The drafted new concept of the content of training in the secondary vocational schools takes into account all natural changes in the training and educational system. It also utilizes the results obtained in experimental testing of the new concept of instruction in the selected study disciplines of the secondary vocational schools representing the most varied fields of the national economy. The main goal of the experiment is to test how the newly structured content of learning is contributing to the formation of a broad profile of the graduates in selected fields of study.

A new comprehensive concept of the graduation examination is also being tested at the secondary vocational schools. The student should demonstrate his ability to handle independently a given project applying the knowledge from the general educational and training subjects. The graduation examination thus resembles the conditions of work. The basis of the graduation examination should be the discussion of the project of the year, when the student informs the graduation committee of the purpose and method of the suggested solution; for example, he gives reasons for the selection of the material used, presents economic considerations and ecological viewpoints, and the like. This means that the graduate should demonstrate not only his training and knowledge but above all how he is prepared to solve the tasks of general practice.

The results obtained in the past 4 years of experimental testing have shown that the new concept of the preparation of secondary school students at the vocational schools is achieving the postulated goals of modernized instruction. The newly prepared system of profiles of the graduates has shown that the number of some closely related fields needs to be reduced, while some fields with a broad profile need to be established. This will enable the graduates to adjust to the constantly changing requirements of practice in a relatively short period of time. The new system contains 97 fields of study without any further internal specialization. It fully respects the conditions and needs of the current and prospective development of the national economy by closely relating the study fields to practice.

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We live in a period of unprecedented development of science and technology affecting every area of human endeavor, all sectors of the national economy. The new concept of instruction is, therefore, also influenced by the introduction of an informational system, which should insure that the results of scientific and technological research reach the instructors and the students as quickly as possible. The socialist school must teach the young generation--the future economists and specialists--to utilize fully the system of scientific, technical and economic information, and to use modern means of microelectronics and computer technology. These are the tools which can and should contribute to the higher quality of instruction and thus to the attainment of higher effectiveness and modernization of production. Socialist education regards this task as its main responsibility. New modern teaching aids are being developed for this purpose; in their design and form they will fully correspond to the requirements of polytechnization and the new concept of training and educational process. The main thing is that in every channel of secondary schooling the instructor train the young secondary generation in best manner possible.

Hence, teachers, masters of vocational training, secondary school teachers and their responsible work in socialist education and training are of primary importance. The forthcoming period is the time of gradual culmination of the realization of the document "Further Development of the Czechoslovak Training and Educational System." One of the main goals of this document is the organizational linking of the training and educational content of secondary schooling with the newly established concept of the primary school. At the same time, the content of secondary school study must prepare young people for both employment and college. The substantive restructuring carried out in the area of secondary schooling, therefore, does not represent a one-time action. It is a continually developing process, which reacts wisely to the changes in the individual fields of the national economy and makes full use of science and application of research results in educational work. Its goal is truly superior preparation of the young generation for life and work, also with respect to the fulfillment of international obligations in the framework of the countries of the socialist community.

In accord with the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the "Main Guidelines for Economic and Social Development of the CSSR" the educators as a body are currently prepared to meet the tasks of the innovation of the content, forms and methods of educational work in such a way that training and education be steadily improved and the level of secondary school graduates be raised. Both national ministries proceed and work in complete unity here. This important public effort depends, of course, on the full participation of the widest circle of educators. Only so, by the concentrated effort of us all, from the young generation that studies today at different types of secondary schools, and schools in general, will there grow qualified workers, aware citizens, individuals who will continue with love the work--jointly started the buildup of the socialist country and the strengthening of peace.

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JOURNALISTS' ACCOMPLISHMENTS, WEAKNESSES OUTLINED

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[Article by Zdenek Horeni, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee, deputy editor in chief of RUDE PRAVO, chairman of the Czechoslovak Journalists' Association [CSSN]: "Journalists after the 16th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] In the spirit of the slogan "All creative forces of Czechoslovak journalists for the fulfillment of the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress" workers of the press, radio and television reviewed this year at the congresses of their united ideological-educational, creative and voluntary professional social organization--the Association of Journalists--how they had promoted the socialist development of our society over the past 5 years and how they will help translate into reality the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the future. In essence, this was a review of our current journalism, its social mission and the way Czechoslovak journalists understand and implement their coresponsibility for social processes in our country.

The press, radio and television represent numerically a very large sector of our ideological front. Czechoslovak television has 1,400 creative workers, radio 1,200, our dailies 1,500, the local press about 700, the weeklies and central publications 1,350. Almost two-thirds of our journalists have more than 10 years of professional experience and 55 percent of them (members of the CSSN) are college educated. More than 45 percent of our journalists are under 40 years of age, 21 percent are in the 40-50 year age group, 23 percent in the 50-60 year age group, and 11 percent are over 60 years old. We may say that today the breakdown of our journalists by age is balanced and its development auspicious.

Comrade Gustav Husak emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress that the CPCZ regards mass communications media as an important tool of its ideological work and considers the employees of the press, radio and television its support and allied aktiv, according to Comrade Vasil Bilak at the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1980.

After the years of crisis in our party and society, the composition of editorial boards in our press, radio and television passed through very fundamental changes in the 1970's. Editorial boards consolidated their cadres--since 1969 more than 3,000 newcomers, mostly young individuals reinvigorated our journalism.

After April 1969, the right wing prophets of doom tried to predict that after their departure from our journalism the new CPCZ leadership would not be able to find anyone to replace them and that our journalism would be without the young generation. They were wrong. The unprecedented flood of masses of young journalists in editorial boards of our press, radio and television answered the false prophets in the most compelling and convincing way.

We can confirm with assurance and with no flattery intended that talented young people appeared at the side of older, experienced journalists. On the whole, the standard of our news media was objectively upgraded and indubitably increased its influence on public opinion. This tendency is in agreement with the overall positive development in all of our party and our society. At the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee it was said: "On the whole, we may say that our media stand on candid class socialist positions, on ideological positions of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and that they express the interests and the will of our people."

In the early spring of this year, the congress of the Slovak Association of Journalists, the congress of the Czech Association of Journalists, and in June the Eighth Congress of the CSSN discussed these questions, the accomplishments of our work as well as our new tasks of which also Comrade Husak spoke at the reception for journalists in the Castle. The basic yardskick according to which the members of the CSSN measure the results of their work and according to which our entire society judges their accomplishments is the way our press, radio and television help translate into reality the objectives of the program and the tasks of our party and society stipulated in the documents of the 16th CPCZ Congress. In particular, two interrelated sectors of our journalism--economic propoganda and ideological education--are in the forefront of our attention.

Our party and our entire society continue developing the general line for the building of a developed socialist society and adapting it for the future years. The crucial task for the new 5-year period in the development of our society is to consolidate and modernize our country's material technical base and accordingly, to maintain and improve the quality of the material and cultural standard of living for our people. Furthermore, the 16th Congress put before the whole economy the nonnegotiable demand that it progress to an intensive type of development that is distinguished by high efficiency. The employees of our press, radio and television are called to help as efficiently as possible in implementing the concrete line of our party in economic policies, as Comrade Jan Fojtik stressed before the Eighth CSSN Congress: "It depends on our media how well we can develop and improve their work in harmony with the more challenging demands of our times and how successful shall we be in mobilizing our party and our whole society of the fulfillment of the tasks before us. It will depend on our media most of all how to activate the subjective factor, by which we mean not only activities at work and the initiative of the collectives in plants and enterprises but also the activity of the whole managing axis of pertinent agencies and individuals of responsibility."

Success in implementation of economic plans and economic policies of our party in general and in improving the efficiency and quality of all labor will determine the living standard of our population and the general climate in our society. Employees of our press, radio and television are not indifferent to this task; on the contrary, they are realistic and aware of their share or responsibility of our social development.

For that reason economic propaganda and indoctrination quite legitimately appear constantly in the forefront of the attention of the employees of our press, radio and television. As readers of newspapers and magazines, we encounter every day many articles devoted to the most timely and relevant problems of our economy; radio and television use their media to comment by work and picture on this topic. The purpose of this effort is clearly determined: not only to explain the problems and tasks of our economy as informatively as possible, but mainly and above all, to point out the ways to their solution, to convince as many people as possible and win them over for the fulfillment of our national economic plan, for higher initiative and for overcoming difficulties and shortcomings. Many columns in the newspapers and many forms specific for this or that medium confirm that our journalists in the sector of economic propaganda and indoctrination are valiantly trying to find the most effective expression for the stimulating, organizing efforts of our news media.

RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA contributed their efforts in organizing more extensive application of Soviet methods, such as, for instance, the Lvov and Saratov movements for improving the quality of labor, for better stewardship in many enterprises, and for accelerated construction of power engineering projects. Another example of organizing efforts and effects was, among others, the "milk league" of the POCHODEN [daily] in East Bohemia and then also PRAVDA in West Bohemia, in cooperation with district newspapers, which contributed greatly to the successful procurement of milk in those krajs. Specific criticism, positive examples and systematic follow up of this campaign help remedy the shortcomings and increase milk production. The press in other krajs adopted this method of action. Still another example is the television power communication system which not only acquainted our public in a new, interesting fashion with the problems in our power system and with main directions for the necessary conservation, but furthermore vividly described cooperation among its individual sectors. In their specific ways, other mass media tried to promote organized action.

Every "campaign" or "movement" which follows the mainline of economic problems in our society has its meaning and its purpose. Our press, radio and television are now expected to focus particular attention and to be up front, helping enforce the principles of the Set of Measures and apply them in our industry, construction industry, according to the discussions at the third and fourth plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee, as well as in the broad structure of our local economy, according to the agenda of the Sixth Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee in April. Naturally, this constitutes a whole broad scale of additional daily "key" tasks: the struggle for a systematic development of our national economy, for accelerated scientific and technical progress, for the transition of our economy to intensive development, for more rational utilization of our production potential, for versatile but always efficient conservation of our material, power and labor resources, and for better quality of work.

Positive examples set by innovators, top workers and technicians and examples set by whole teams are very important as a true and tested method of far-reaching exchanges of practical experience acquired in the process of production. As V. I. Lenin demanded, it fulfills the task to turn the press into an "important tool for economic education of the masses of our population," "to put uppermost the problems of labor in their direct practical formulation," "to turn insipid reports into vivid examples--cautioning as well as worthy of following."

The method of "warning" examples, i.e., criticism freed from subjectivism, should help point out untapped assets, overcome symptoms of bureaucratism, indolence, routine and inertia of parameters of production that have become obsolete. Many party documents challenge our journalists to strive toward this end and such appeals remain timely and valid in direct proportion to the increasing challenges.

Our objective is always to encourage such factors in production and in the working process that can change the way of thinking and shift the level of social awareness so as to anchor the principles of socialist ethics and dynamic involvement in life profoundly and permanently in the deeds of the people.

Nevertheless, despite all the accomplishments mentioned above, we must admit that a good part of our economic propaganda is still languishing on the sidelines of events and developments; it is wasted because it passes by the minds of our people without provoking them to change their thinking. Many articles and programs still portray machinery and technology as the hero instead of recognizing the hero in man as the central figure of every process of production. Their professional standard is frequently low; they are not very original and convincing. Economic journalism contains much random, sketchy information and occasionally even openly promotes individual enterprises or ministries. Some materials are not comprehensible enough, stifled by statistics and esoteric terminology. One of the reasons stems from the fact that economic departments of our media still lack engineers and economists who are experts in their field as well as good journalists.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the activism and initiative of the press, radio and television in economic propaganda and indoctrination are improving. Every editorial board considers it its creative duty and privilege to contribute its own ideas to this effort. A certain characteristic may be detected in this colorful mixture of initiatives: the more specific and objective the articles and reports, the more responsible the teams and managers of production, the more informed and competent they are, the more effective and penetrating the economic propaganda. What counts most is greater zeal and efficiency.

The standard of economic propaganda naturally depends on the contribution given to it not only by the ideological front but also by the economic sector. It is encouraging that our press, radio and television have in their aktiv of authors many experts, economists and managers and that prominent representatives of our party and state appear on the pages of our newspapers as well as before the microphones or cameras. Nonetheless, the 15th CPCZ

Congress demands that instead of "redundant news about meetings for all kinds of consultations and activities" appropriate managers inform our public regularly in the press, on the radio and television about problems their sectors are dealing with; this demand remains to this day an urgent and pressing challenge. In the same way, it continues to apply that our public must be promptly informed about the response to criticism in the media and that every institution and agency has the duty to "react" to it and "above all, to demand redress of the shortcomings under criticism."

However, many new signals from the media still indicate that criticism presented in the press or on the radio and television has been disregarded and critical comments overlooked, not to mention the reluctance, resistance and displeasure in the approach to eliminating the shortcomings.

The fact cannot be ignored that recently it has frequently happened that managers, mainly those in the economic sector, have refused to observe the part of the press law that obligates state authorities and organizations and scientific, cultural and economic istitutions to provide the employees of our media the data necessary for accurate, prompt and comprehensive information of our public, or to enable them to get access to such information. In some cases orders were issued that no information be given to journalists without the knowledge of this or that manager.

For the sake of objectivity, however, it must be mentioned that most employees of our state and economic agencies do understand the purpose of the press, radio and television and provide them with general information which should be conveyed to the broader public. After all, our journalists do not wish to assert their authority by means of press laws but rather by their conduct, political and professional expertise, reliability--and we may add--also by careful judgment and verification of the fact of which they intend to inform their readers or audiences.

If only some of the employees of our press, radio and television are dealing with economic propaganda and indoctrination, then in effect all of propaganda and all of journalism face the questions of ideological education, education of the socialist man, the questions of our ideological struggle with its internal political and international aspects.

Our ideological struggle which displays all symptoms of a class struggle on the international scale knows no frontiers. Modern means of communication are pulling our whole society into the sphere of that struggle in one way or another. The 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee reminded us that the ideological struggle is intensifying and that we cannot ignore the fact that hostile radio broadcast may be heard practically all over the CSSR and that the West German and Austrian television programs may be viewed in much of our state. "This situation will not change; on the contrary, it will become even more complicated because of technological progress," the session of the CPCZ Central Committee 2 years ago stressed in its challenging, prudent conclusion, instructing all employees of our radio and television and, naturally, other media as well that "the influence of the enemy propaganda may be counteracted only by the quality of our programs and by the convincing power of our reality."

The development in the world offers us sufficient proof that our ideological adversary, the centers of world anticommunism and imperialist secret service never stop organizing slanderous campaigns against socialist countries, which often evolve into psychological war. We must therefore include in the offensive efforts of all our mass information and propaganda media the fullest measure of the defense of realistic socialism as well as the defense of peace and social progress.

No socialist journalist may remain a neutral onlooker in this struggle. This is one of the basic criteria for the work, position in life and belief of our journalists. In essence, there is not one ideological function which our media do not serve in some way. Therefore, our journalist is first of all an ideologist in the true sense of that word.

As in economic propaganda, we may speak with justification and appreciation of the participation of our jounalists in the ideological struggle of the CPCZ and in the educational process in our entire society. Employees of our press, radio and television exert direct influence over millions of people; they transmit daily information about domestic and international developments, and have a positive effect on people's decisions and behavior.

In a report by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee entitled "For Further Upgrading of the Standard and Efficiency of Political Education and Ideological Program, Its Firm Link with Practical Tasks in the Building of a Developed Socialist Society, for a Creative Development and Comprehensive Application of the Ideas of Marxism-Leninism:" the CPCZ Central Committee reviewed in March 1980 on a broad scale the ideological work of our party and in this context, also the contribution of our journalists. This report included premises fully confirmed and further specified by the 16th CPCZ Congress, providing long range objectives and methodical directions for our propaganda. Furthermore, the employees of our press, radio and television have derived meaningful inspiration from the decision of the CPSU "Comments on Further Improvement of Ideological Work and Political Education" of 26 April 1979, and from the all-union consultation of Soviet ideological activists held in Moscow in October 1979. Their conclusions fully apply to the work of ideological activists in the CSSR.

We journalists are pleased that our participation in the ideological programs of our party is so much appreciated. Many editorial teams play a very active and creative part in it. However, we would not be completely sincere if we were to claim that enough has been done and that we may blissfully rest on our laurels. On the one hand, as confirmed by the congresses of journalists, there are many untapped assets in the work of our media, and on the other hand, the challenges are increasing. Educational and cultural standards of our readers, listeners and viewers have risen and--as mentioned above--the ideological struggle has escalated on an international scale.

The proble[illegible]fficient performance of our press, radio and television is undoubtedly one of the most complex and urgent issues in the work of our journalists. Many shallow topics, empty words and insipid materials are still appearing in our newspapers and journals and on radio and television programs.

Moreover, some articles and programs are created "out of this world", and wordy, trite "lecturing" without a spark of life or a new idea, impersonal, nonspecific, trivial topics cannot stir up, touch or inspire anyone. Such journalism reminds one of thrashing water and such presentations in the press or on the radio and television cannot plant any fertile litte "seeds" in our people's minds.

Our journalists still owe very much to our party's fundamental challenge which calls for a "specific image" of our newspapers and publications and of our radio and television programs. Our young generation is frequently addressed in the same terms or phrases as the older, more mature and more experienced generations. Concepts, historical parallels and allusions familiar to those people who remember the war and liberation or February [1948] are not always so clear and comprehensible to those who were born during those events or later.

We must choose a different approach when addressing, for instance, trade union members without party affiliation, housewives, etc. Intensification and differentiation of our approach to our readers, listeners and viewers and emphasis on specific "images" and on specific groups of basic issues will always be among the preconditions for more effective press, radio and television.

Under the current circumstances in the world, the "information explosion" or informative competence of the news media is of utmost importance. Are we always able to pat the employees of our newspapers, radio and television on their shoulders for prompt reports about this or that event?

There is no doubt that as concerns promptness, efficiency, thorough knowledge of facts and the ability to present arguments, political reporting, whose main sources are the CTK and the network of information specialists from other media, has improved on the whole. Some editorial boards have begun taking their own creative approaches with an emphasis on the use of more impressive journalistic styles, such as, for example, the morning radio program "Minutes from Foreign Countries" or the television program "24 Hours in the World." Those and other forms of reporting were created in response to the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee which had highly stressed the importance of political information.

Subsequently the secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the situation and the tasks of political reporting and modern journalism and specified several measures for improving this sector of our journalism in order to achieve more objectivity in our political reporting, to strengthen its informative aspect, and to upgrade its quality in terms of creative and politically effective interpretation of individual developments and events.

Despite all the indisputable accomplishments of our media, the fact remains that our media are occasionally late in presenting reports on various developments, sometimes even on domestic events. Prompt reaction of our media is often further complicated by the fact that some institutions fail to

show sufficient interest and initiative, to recognize their responsibility for prompt publication of the information (and here it is always necessary to assess whether the event in question is of local or statewide significance). The Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee pointed out that the CTK, in cooperation with interested institutions, plays a meaningful role by promptly reacting to this or that event; furthermore, it stressed the responsibility of the managers of those institutions.

Prompt information about significant events as well as prompt commentaries and adopted standpoints mean more than a matter of prestige and journalist's honor. They are of utmost political importance. Precisely this fact was on the mind of the 15th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee when it stressed that in the effort to increase the magnetism of our press, radio and television and to develop an opulent scale of forms and styles in our journalism, it attributes "the most meaningful place" to political reporting.

Political reporting is the historical cradle of journalism. In the course of time, it turned into a powerful instrument which affects public opinion. In today's world, when without exaggeration public opinion has become a formidable political force, the significance of political reporting has multiplied. The phenomenon of "the scoop," the ability of this or that political force in the ideological struggle to bring information ahead of the competitor is not without importance. At the recent Fifth Congress of the Association of USSR Journalists (in March 1982), Academician Victor Afanasiev, the chairman of the Association of USSR Journalists and editor in chief of PRAVDA, touched upon these issues, saying, that our enemies are not sitting with their hands folded in their laps; their actions against real socialism are increasingly more devious, crafty and intensive. The combat of ideas, the struggle for the peoples' minds reached an acute stage. Our ideological arms must, therefore, always be well honed. As Victor Afanasiev said--"we must counteract" ideological subversion "to our best abilities, which must be superior to those of our opponent's, we must proceed more soberly, prudently, convincingly and skillfully," "we must not only defend and justify but become more aggressive, more tenacious, more inventive and efficient." That applies in the fullest measure to our news media.

It is an ever-present task of ideological education in the press, radio and television to assist our party and society in shaping the socialist man, the socialist way of life, the socialist attitude in life. Our journalists are well aware of the words spoken by Gustav Husak in this context from the rostrum of the 16th CPCZ Congress: "The better they serve the needs and the interests of our citizens for authentic information, informed commentary, invaluable cultural experience and good entertainment, the greater their contribution to the growth of socialist awareness and shaping of the socialist awareness and shaping of the socialist way of life." His words apply universally to all employees of our news media.

Our party demands from the press, radio and television that they struggle just as vigorously against whatever holds the citizens of our socialist society back: against all alien influences and vestiges of the past. First of all, this is a struggle against the petty bourgeoisie, against efforts to

benefit from our society as much as possible and in return, to contribute as little as possible, and against indolence and corruption. No doubt, in our press as well as on radio and television programs we may find ample examples of critical or satirical lashing against such antisocial occurrences. On the other hand, it must be admitted in truth that our journalists are often pussyfooting around the problem of tackling the vestiges of the petty bourgeoisie head on, not to mention, for example, such demoralizing practices as bribery.

In his recent interview with RUDE PRAVO (2 April 1982) Comrade Vasil Bilak dealt frankly with these issues faced by our whole ideological front and in fact, by our entire society. He reminded us that education of the socialist man is the most difficult task in the struggle with the petty bourgeoisie which has acquired hundreds of guises and forms in our society, so much more so because it is systematically promoted by enemy propaganda.

Comrade Bilak stressed the fact that even in socialism we are not safe against the danger that the petty bourgeoisie may be revived to some extent if "we fail to become involved in a systematic struggle for the socialist way of life and against some of its deformations." He called to our attention that this must be a total struggle, a frontal attack, and that our ideological program, including our news media, must "continuously upgrade its methods of struggle against the petty bourgeoisie, reveal its wretchedness and perniciousness, and thus, help bring up the all-around, developed socialist man."

It was stated at the 16th Congress that our ideological work cannot tolerate any stereotypes but must display "a lively, creative character and win over man's mind and heart." This applies in particular and without any reservations to employees of our news media from whom our party demands greater social impact as well as higher effect on political organization and education. During the reception of members of the presidium of the CSSN central committee elected at the Eighth CSSN Congress, Comrade Gustav Husak stated: "Our news media must be able to explain current tasks and their social ramifications in greater depth, to strive for efficient, challenging, ethical explanation of problems and at the same time, also for a lively, versatile and captivating style without cliches, phrases and stereotypes. Efficiency in the work of our news media stems from their prompt reaction to all timely issues and from the truth and magnetism of our Marxist-Leninist world view."

There is no doubt that our journalists--who are part of the CPCZ political aktiv--will respond honestly and responsibly as they are already responding in deed to the challenges of the 16th Congress by their vigorous daily struggle for the minds and hearts of our fellow citizens in the most efficient way possible.

9004
CSO: 2400/9

DISSIDENT EVALUATES CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMY

Paris SVEDECTVI in Czech No 67, 1982 pp 468-474

[Anonymous article: "Brief Guide to the Current Problems of the CSSR Economy"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak political and economic chieftains have not had and still do not have an easy task, even though they had thought that following their victory over the 1968 reforms, the worst was over and that henceforth their path would be bright. They had restored their political and ideological power and propped it up with Soviet troops and a revival of their own coercive apparat. They confirmed the rejection of revisionism by the most widespread screening campaign in the history of their party and the most massive purge in the history of the country since the time of February 1948 when they acquired unlimited power. In the so-called "Lessons from the Crisis Period," they presented a false assessment of the recent past and celebrated the return to Leninist-Stalinist normality at the 14th CPCZ Congress. According to official proclamations of that period, consolidation had begun. Henceforth, they asserted, the regime would march from victory to victory.

Ten years later, the economic backbone of the regime was ruptured. Instead of consolidation there was destabilization, instead of growth there was stagnation. Since the middle of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, i.e., roughly since the summer of 1978, the growth arrow began pointing down. In 1980, the surprised leadership learned from its statistical informers that the 5-year plan would be 25-33 percent short in planned increments and that the whole economic outlook was bleak. There simply is a lack of adequate resources or "input" as they are called, which could cause the economy to move more rapidly. There is a shortage of available funds, people, raw materials, fuels, modern machinery and good managers. The above-mentioned input cannot be produced in sufficient quantity and quality at home, nor can it be imported from abroad. The 5-year plan for 1981-85 cannot be elaborated in a balanced form, in fact, it is difficult to put it together at all. Recently prepared economic branch balances show that the jigsaw puzzle of the Czechoslovak national economy cannot be put together with all pieces fitting and no holes left. Available resources cannot ensure an increment in national revenue and probably will not even be able to preserve the level achieved in 1980. The year 1981 confirmed this pessimistic assessment. Only

through statistical sleight of hand is it possible to show a certain growth, a mere two-tenths of 1 percent in the "creation" of national revenue. Translated into per capita figures, a drop of 1-2 percent was noted. It was considered the better part of valor not to inform the public of this fact. For the second time in the history of Czechoslovak communism (the first time was in 1962-63), the economy performed worse in one year than the year before.

The concrete causes of the Czechoslovak economic depression stem from three cardinal mistakes made by the party leadership in the 1970s. First, the "normalizers" liquidated the market-oriented reform and removed from the economic process thousands of talented economic managers. Second, they focused the fifth and sixth 5-Year Plans on extensive development backed by further capital investment expansion, at the cost of modernization and intensification. Third, as a consequence of their ideological bias, they misunderstood the significance of the sharp rise in prices of raw materials, especially oil, in the mid-1970s and reacted to it insufficiently and too late. Much has already been written and need not be repeated here on how the liquidation of the germ of a market economy harmed economic development in the 1970s. The rulers in Prague began restoring directive elements in the system at a time when its driving potential had already turned into an anachronism. The world was embarking on a different road of postindustrial development in which volume growth of fixed assets plass an incomparably smaller role than technology and, linked with it, inventiveness and quality. At such a time, the allegedly scientifically thinking party Presidium in Prague decided that the Czechoslovak economy would continue to rise and swell in height and breadth, no matter what the quality of the dough.

Faulty Capital Investment Policy

Capital investment is naturally the yeast for almost any economic organism, however, it depends on what is invested in and how the investment process is brought to fruition. In the early 1970s--and still generally true today--it was profitable to invest in what is briefly known as modernization programs, either those which represent newly created technological progress, or those which improve the quality, speed up, or reduce the cost of existing production, provided of course there is guaranteed regular demand for it. It is no longer a question of having more iron, more artificial fertilizers, or more average shaping machinery. Only the developing areas still have room for the typical industrialization programs in which quantity plays an important role. Even those economists, however, wish to build new factories and equipment on today's and, if possible, tomorrow's technological level. It is a valid fact everywhere that the capital investment process must be rapid and effective. In other words, the return on investment must be guaranteed both in terms of time and utility of the newly created assets.

The CPCZ Presidium decided to base the fifth and to a considerable degree the sixth 5-Year Plan on volume growth, as if Czechoslovakia were a developing country. At the same time, it was not even able to ensure the planned increase in the quality of the production forces. Stated figuratively, a newly built factory should with the same input produce not only as much as

the old one but much more in terms of quality and technically advanced utility worth of products and economic effectiveness of the production process. The volume of resources invested in Czechoslovakia in newly-initiated capital investment programs in the 1970s, however, consistently exceeded the total worth of finished installations and the production flowing from them. It became so bad that in 1980 the value of fixed assets in the Czechoslovak national economy rose 8 percent but industrial production only 3 percent.

Following a politically motivated breathing spell, the relationship between capital investment and national revenue began deteriorating beginning in 1971. It is this percentage ratio by means of which economists pass judgment on the national economy, even though they leave aside quality and the purpose of capital investment programs. In the countries with recognized modern economies, a group in which historically Czechoslovakia belongs, capital investment takes up less than 20 percent of created national revenue. In Czechoslovakia this percentage rose from 31.6 in 1971 to 35.4 in 1975. These are figures which would perhaps fit a highly underdeveloped country in Africa which is starting from virtually nothing, or countries of the Arab world which can afford the enormous arithmetical surge by virtue of their income from oil sales.

The extent of capital investment, however, represents but one aspect of economic policy. The speed of project completion in capital investment is another. In 1971, about 21,000 construction projects in Czechoslovakia stood unfinished. This number rose to more than 23,000 in 1975, and reached the incredible total of 30,000 by late 1980. Official Prague estimates tell us that during the same period the amount of capital tied in these unfinished operations rose from 326 billion to 413 billion Kcs, and finally reached 540 billion Kcs in 1980. This sum is more than a fifth higher than the annual national revenue or compute differently, one-fifth of the total worth of fixed assets in the Czechoslovak economy.

With respect to method of utilization, Czechoslovakia spends 30 or more percent of capital investment funds on the primary and semisecondary industrial branches, i.e., mining and production of electricity and heat. This greatly limits opportunities of investing in modernization of the processing branches, to say nothing of the consumer product industry itself whose growth is consistently lagging even behind the low effectiveness of heavy industry.

To this statistic of economic horrors, let us add the fact that the industrial branch most closely linked with capital investment activity, namely, the construction industry, is the first which, as a whole, has in fact failed. In recent years, 75 percent of construction enterprises have failed to meet the state plan, and the volume of work performed stubbornly slips below the level of the year before. The admission that, for all intents and purposes, nothing can be done except to allow the construction industry to rest until such time as it can pick itself up a bit on its own, can also be found in the fact that the central plan for the current 5-year period sets the decrease even in directive form. There is official hope that resources thus saved can be transferred into modernization of the machine plant of the

industrial enterprises. This maneuver, however, is encountering other obstacles which will be discussed later.

The erroneous growth orientation of the 1970s may be expressed in yet another way. In consecutive terms, the Fifth 5-Year Plan for the years 1971-75 was conceived with the intention of raising national revenue primarily through extensive capital investment activity by some 6 percent annually. An annual increment of 5 percent was anticipated during the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1976-1980). And even as late as in 1975-77 when the work on long-term economic prognoses through 1990 was being completed, it was anticipated that the growth in capital investment of 5 percent. Now that, with many delays and difficulties, the prognosis through 2000 is under preparation, the unrealistic grandeur continues in a sort of orgy of capital investment intoxication. This then was the error committed during the past decade by the Czechoslovak leadership, which is not entirely unlike orientation of accelerated expansion by means of foreign credits in Gierek's Poland. In Czechoslovakia, the state became "indebted" within its own economy in two ways, i.e., with respect to an ever growing number of unfinished projects which tied up, and continue to do so, enormous amounts of capital, capacities, and labor force, and with respect to its own energy base which demands enormous outlays and will continue to do so for a long time to come. In both cases, the Polish and the Czechoslovak, the political leaders increased the dependence of their economy on factors over which they had little control and which could not be coerced to produce the anticipated benefits. As a result of this policy, in both cases the ability to maneuver within the already unwieldy centrally directed system was reduced. They eventually found that they could not meet their obligations in the West. In Prague, there are problems with the servicing of unfinished or poorly finished investment projects of little benefit.

"External Economic Imbalance"

This phenomenon meaning that Czechoslovakia is unable in its development to earn enough to pay for the imports it needs, is often presented in Prague as an objective manifestation which afflicted the Czechoslovak economy from the outside and against which little can be done, except to stand firm, tighten belts and try to eliminate the consequences. Moreover, the regime accuses the imperialists who, as everyone knows, enjoy causing harm to real socialism. Quite illogically other official commentaries blame the difficulties on the high price of oil which Czechoslovakia, of course, does not buy from the capitalists. What is so quaint in all this and what Prague propaganda tiptoes around is the fact that the sharp rise in prices of crude oil during 1973-79 is on the conscience of Czechoslovakia's Arab friends and the impact of the price explosion is being transmitted to Czechoslovakia by the most reliable friend of them all, the Soviet Union, the main supplier of the so-called black gold.

Nonetheless, it would be cheap to blame only the Arabs and Moscow. Czechoslovakia would have to buy oil somewhere, even if these friends did not exist. With the exception of the producers and exporters, the whole world suffers from the high price of oil. The wastefully managed centrally

directed system in Czechoslovakia doubled oil consumption between 1971 and 1980, while Soviet prices increased at least 500 percent. Today the bill for imported crude oil is 10 times as high as at the outset of the so-called normalization, and it will continue to rise. In 1980 it amounted to overall billion Kcs. In order to maintain balance in foreign trade, Czechoslovakia should be exporting that much more for correspondingly higher prices to be able to pay the bill. Or, it would have had to initiate an effective savings program in oil and other raw materials much sooner. The economic dogmatists in Prague, however, did not recognize the danger of rising oil prices in time, thus did not react in an appropriate manner. For about 2 years they were convinced that the oil crisis could not affect Czechoslovakia, or do so only slightly, since the Soviet Union would always protect its ward through low prices and ever-increasing deliveries. It is enough to read what they were saying in 1973-74 to see how that differs from today's laments. Nothing at all was done at the time, except for some lip service to the problem, not even after Moscow had raised its prices for the first time in 1975. Even all through the Sixth 5-Year Plan (through 1980), oil consumption in Czechoslovakia was rising steadily and wastefully, as if nothing had changed. Soviet oil prices are now set according to the world market in a fluctuating average every 5 years. In consecutive terms, this meant 400 percent during 1975-1980, i.e., 65 percent annually, and even in 1981 and 1982 prices of Soviet oil for Czechoslovakia rose 25-30 percent each year. Even though the price of crude oil on the free world market had stabilized, even dropped, during the past year, Czechoslovakia, under the method of calculation used, will continue to pay more. Moreover, the compensatory agreement with the Soviet Union signed in September 1966, will expire in 1984. Under that agreement, in return for credits then granted to Moscow, Czechoslovakia would receive each year 5 million tons of crude oil at the contract price of 120 Kcs per ton which in the current market appears ridiculously low, about six times less than Soviet oil actually cost in Prague in 1980. Therefore, in the last year of the current 5-year plan, the oil bill will to some extent automatically jump upward and for the same amount imported we will overnight be paying at least 5 billion Kcs more.

Much fanfare has been raised in the past and continues to be sounded at primitive meetings about the Soviet Union charging substantially less for oil than what it costs on the open market. In better informed analytical circles, this price advantage is no longer promoted as in the past. This is because the relationship between the Soviet and world price of oil represents for Eastern Europe strictly a secondary, inferred, problem. It is less important to theorize about what would have been if there were no Soviet oil, than it is to point out that in 1982 this oil costs at least six times what it did 7 or 8 years ago. The propagandists can perhaps find solace in believing that it would be worse if the oil had to be purchased elsewhere, but the fact remains that the situation is certainly bad enough as it is. It has never been possible to eliminate a foreign trade deficit through unrealistic comparisons. In any event, Western economies which have to cope with expensive oil, were able to handle the impact of the price explosion immeasurably better than Czechoslovakia, even though it was operating with prices which were originally lower than the world average.

Foreign Trade

The capacity of a system to produce and export is undoubtedly of primary significance. Czechoslovakia is able to perform in this area only in a very ineffective manner. This is seen in the prices of both exports and imports. During the 1970s the cost of Czechoslovak imports went up by roughly 169 billion Kcs, while export goods could be sold with an increase of only 116 billion Kcs. Thus, during the decade Czechoslovakia with its low export effectiveness lost 53 billion Kcs, of which 44 billion in the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1976-1980) when we were supposed to be working feverishly to improve the export situation. Instead, the average annual loss of 5 billion during the whole decade, went up to 8 billion annually in the second 5-year period.

These mammoth and systematically continuing losses were partially covered by a depletion of national property, e.g., deterioration of buildings, installations, machinery, ecological devastation, and partially through indebtedness in the West, but also in the East. From a traditional lender, Czechoslovakia has during the past decade become a debtor of CEMA collectively and the Soviet Union individually. The CSSR owes the CEMA countries roughly 10 billion Kcs, and the West some 26 billion Kcs. During the Fifth 5-Year Plan Prague squandered 4.5 billion Kcs in foreign trade, while in the Sixth 5-Year Plan this figure rose to over 20 billion.

Given the slow growth of Czechoslovak trade with the West (including the developing countries), the Czechoslovak economy is turning more and more, seemingly permanently, to the other countries of real socialism, especially the Soviet Union. In 1950, the share of foreign trade of the used national revenue was 10 percent. This year it has reached 30 percent, and prognoses being prepared today anticipate by 1990 an opening of the economy of 40 percent and by 2000 as much as 50 percent. More than two-thirds of the transactions are taking place in the socialist sphere. Half of the total volume is being realized with the Soviet Union. It is no wonder then that the health of the Czechoslovak economy rises and falls with the health of the Soviet system. The seriousness of Czechoslovak economic problems thus depends entirely on what happens in Moscow.

Treating Cancer With Aspirin

The situation in the Czechoslovak economy is serious and will get worse. Prescriptions for recovery, as presented by the party and state leadership, are obviously and inevitably half-way and toothless recommendations. The principal shortcoming of these bandaid measures is simple, namely, they rely almost exclusively on approaches and actions which have failed a hundred times in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. It is desperately primitive that after all the miserable experiences, we are trying again to pretend that a positive and even permanent turn in the economic situation which is chronic and borders on crisis, will be achieved primarily, if not exclusively, by exhortations, proclamations, slogans, resolutions, decrees, ideological rubbish, instructions and bans, in short, through "mobilization" and

"struggle" of citizens for greater savings and efficiency. All this naturally while the party and state leaders nervously eye Moscow and its reaction.

What the CPCZ leadership is offering today as a program of healing the economy, can at best maintain it in a state of stagnation or, as seems more likely, merely slow down the slide into a catastrophe of the Polish type.

9496
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MEMBERS OF SUSPENDED UNIONS DISCUSS NEW SITUATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 24-26 Sep 82 pp 1, 3-5

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Milkowski, foreman at the Reclamation Department of the Konin Aluminum Works, trade union activist; Robert Pielas, construction machinery mechanic at the Bulldozer Repair Department of the Radom Construction Machinery Repair Plant, member of NSZZ Solidarity, and Stefan Blaszczyk, director of the Bulldozer Department of the Construction Mechanization Industry Association in Radom; by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz and Wladyslaw Styczynski; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The deadline is approaching for the passage of a new trade union law. Sooner or later the trade union movement will get underway. We know that the reality in industrial plants has changed, that the economic reform is in operation and that a new body, the workers' self-government, is beginning to assume joint control. There are so many new elements that one must pare down the subject matter of discussions on trade unions, rather then stimulating the discussion of topics.

We invited to our office three people from the suspended unions who either are experts on these issues or, like most of us, take a lively interest in them. Mieczyslaw Milkowski is a foreman at the Reclamation Department of the Konin Aluminum Works and a trade union activist; Robert Pielas is a construction machinery mechanic at the Bulldozer Repair Department of the Radom Construction Machinery Repair Plant and a member of NSZZ Solidarity and Stefan Blaszczyk is a director of the Bulldozer Department of the Construction Mechanization Industry Association in Radom. Journalist Wladyslaw Styczynski also took part in the interview. He is the author of a SZTANDAR MLODYCH series entitled "What Sort of Union?" He specializes in the subject, was involved in the post-August subsector trade union movement and was a teacher in the factory-connected schooling program for many years. Our editorial staff was represented by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz, who edited the interview.

[SZTANDAR MLODYCH] All of the participants in our discussion have received copies of W. Styczynski's series of eight articles on trade unions. Let us call to mind its major theses.

[W. Styczynski] I tried to select the most valuable experiences of all three union currents: Solidarity, trade unions and the autonomous unions. A completely new quality is now developing in the union movement. It must be a social movement, free from all bureaucracy, officialdom and subordination because of one's position. The titles of the installments illustrate the thoughts expressed in the series: Embedded in Realities--in Economic Reform; the Ally of Self-Government; Trade Unions--Worthy Partner of the Marxist-Leninist Party, the Government and Other Social and Political Organizations; finally, the installment that deals with structure. It should be the negation of all hierarchy, somewhat along the line of the autonomous unions, although practically speaking these have not taken hold.

[SM] Is there not fear that a movement without a hierarchy likewise will not be able to take hold?

[W. Styczynski] The power to penetrate does not issue from closed meetings of leaders who are guided by their own interests.

[SM] But the group in charge is not always guided by its own interests; it can also truly represent the interests of member masses.

[W. Styczynski] That is why in the last segment I propose that particular trade groups elect executive commissions within the framework of the eventual federations or confederations of labor unions. These must be rank and file elections for the congress or conventions, which would then elect executive commissions. They would have no power over the unions that they represent (if there were several of them). Nor would they have power to issue instructions, orders or recommendations. The central office may not impose any position upon its particular trade union. The initiative may travel only from the rank and file to the top. The sole purpose of the central office is to represent the interests of a given trade group, union or entire federations to the authorities or to political parties.

[SM] In all negotiations, the group of superiors must have the freedom to make a compromise. According to your concept, if this executory commission is wholly subject to the will of the rank and file, it may not withdraw from anything. This limits the field of strategy and draws out negotiations. If this commission were able to make other agreements with the government that did not initiate from the rank and file, these would then be binding for the rank and file, thus granting the commission the power to rule.

[W. Styczynski] I agree that it must possess some powers in these matters. But it should not be permitted to change strategy, the general directions established by the congress.

[M. Milkowski] I am generally in agreement with these views. In the Konin area, our Consultative Commission operated according to this principle.

The work forces, the aktiv at the lowest level decided everything. Manipulation can never be avoided entirely; however, the bottom should manipulate the top, and not vice versa.

[R. Pielas] The most important thing is for the rank and file itself to decide major questions. Workers must have a real impact on their unions; the board should merely represent them.

[S. Blaszczyk] In the past, new trade unions erred by wanting to solve everything too fast. It takes time to settle matters; they must be negotiated peaceably.

[M. Milkowski] Our economy is so crippled today that setting new economic tasks for it ultimately would destroy it completely. Everything must be spread out over time. Our directions and goals must be marked out clearly. The government must be given advance notice of the kinds and amounts of increases we will demand. Moreover, our demands must be based upon calculations and not desires. Spontaneity and pressure or blackmail from the other side do not yield reasonable results. They lead only to resistance and opposition.

[S. Blaszczyk] According to Lenin, the task of unions is to defend the material and spiritual affairs of the working class. In order to fulfill both of these tasks, unions must be a social trade movement, independent of administrative and party organs, but only in the area ascribed to union activity. The union must be an independent body, but a partner at the same time.

[SM] In your opinion, what form will this independence assume?

[S. Blaszczyk] Obviously, unions must recognize the leadership role of the party. Once they functioned merely as transmission belts. However, these belts ran in only one direction--from the party to the masses. Now they must run in the other direction--from the masses to the party. I believe that unions should occupy a place between the party and the government. But so that this would not be a place "between the devil and the deep blue sea," as in the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions] era, they should have the right to strike--as a last resort, of course.

Based on this model, we must develop forms of consultation with work forces, with members. This is something we have never had. Nor did Solidarity develop such forms--decisions were undertaken very quickly, rashly. Sometimes the leaders themselves decided courses of action.

[SM] Your line of reasoning is contradictory. You say that the leadership role of the party must be recognized and that the right to strike must be preserved. But do we strike against the authorities who are under the influence of this party, or do we strike against the party directly?

[S. Blaszczyk] Just a moment. I said that the leadership role of the party, not the administration, must be recognized.

Formerly the unelected apparatus dictated to the unions what they were to do and how they were to do it.

[SM] But we are forgetting the qualitative change that is occurring. Self-government, on which the industrial administration will be dependent primarily, is being set in motion. In light of this, what aspect will a strike have? Second, a strike against the state administration or against the party apparatus will be strictly a political strike. Unions will probably not obtain the right to do this.

[S. Blaszczyk] The unions should have a class nature. Thus, a political strike against the party that represents this same class is inadmissible.

[SM] In the light of your conclusions, they will have this character.

[S. Blaszczyk] A fundamental motto from August 1980 was "Socialism yes--perversion no." Class unions must have the right to point out perversions to the party--should they occur in the future. I am not a party member, but I recognize the party's leadership role. This does not mean, however, that the party should be infallible. If it is the worker's party, it must also represent my material and spiritual interests.

[M. Milkowski] The party-trade union relationship implies a common goal--the good of the working class. Thus, the activity of unions is of great benefit to the party, enabling it to avoid error. Once I wrote in TYGODNIK RADOMSKI that a union echelon cannot be a department of a party echelon. Neither can it be a sort of party fighting against the PZPR, however. If partnership relations are preserved, the party will succeed.

[SM] We are beginning to speak in generalities; this irritates people. Let us translate into Polish what the term "partnership relations" really mean.

[W.Styczynski] To be frank, in my opinion one of the major causes of the August protest was the refusal to permit trade unions, the major representative of workers, to gain control. The trade union should have the same right as party control organs to point out to party echelons the impropriety of their social decisions. Of course, this does not apply to intraparty matters. Otherwise we are in line for another political crisis.

The pre-August management of unions in the most trifling matters caused people to lose confidence not only in unions but in the party as well. The party should outline general developmental directions of strategy. However, in the preparation and implementation of this strategy, unions must be an equal partner, with the right to vote and to oppose. There can be no return to the undemocratic relations between the party and unions of the pre-August period. Developmental concepts may not arise in the quiet of offices and pillared halls without consultation with the working class and its labor organization.

[SM] But working class interests vary. They are conscious and unaware, tactical, short-term, strategic and sweeping. Today they are often contradictory. In general, workers' parties are trying to direct strategic interests.

Over a period of 16 months, Solidarity demanded increases and money. It implemented workers' interests. But these were tactical, short-term interests. Their fulfillment deepened inflation, divested the markets and exacerbated the crisis.

Drastic price increases, a reduction in the living standard and taking money out of workers' pockets are all required to overcome the crisis. But this is a strategic goal--things will improve eventually. In general, trade unions are defending current interests; here is where the contradiction may occur, a contradiction between party policy and the directions of the work of trade unions demanded from below by the masses.

[W. Styczynski] The working class is not an obtuse mob of consumers demanding "gimme, gimme, gimme!" As the intelligentsia, we are backward by comparison with the development of working class thinking!

A certain worker from Konin told me curtly: the worker can stand the poverty that we have now, but without the trade unions, he feels bad. Let us have poverty if we must, but let me feel that I am sharing in this interest--reactivate self-government.

[R. Pielas] When you speak of sweeping interests, perhaps you are referring to today's party policy. But things were different several years ago. We know how that party policy ended. We were dealing with myopic thinking, with a day by day tactic, in order to survive from credit to credit. This ended in a collapse.

[M. Milkowski] In 1978 the workers already felt that things were clearly getting worse. It was being said at party meetings that truth and openness are necessary. Had we been told that we had to tighten our belts for 6 months or a year or two, we would have understood. We would have given our consent. But they would have had to speak with us as partners.

Today we also need to discuss matters as partners. We need a clear definition of time limits for emerging from the crisis. Of course, this does not mean that everything must be laid bare. External factors can cross up the best plans. Trade unions are especially needed for such dialogue, and to oversee the implementation of programs.

For us workers something is clearly lacking. Neither the administrative nor the party authorities reach us at our work stations. They must speak with the people. They cannot leave this to the press, radio and television. These are one-way transmissions. This is not dialogue! Every worker must be reached!

Today's discussions and meetings with small, select groups, somewhere in conference halls, do not bear results. Often the worker finds out by watching television that such a meeting was held at his plant.

[R. Pielas] We want truthful, honest unfettered discussions. But let us return to today's living conditions. Real income has declined. Workers feel this. We the workers often discuss prices, increases and difficulties among ourselves, but at the same time, we wanted this ourselves. We wanted reform and we have it! It may be spiteful, but that is how the people think. Despite the complaints, we have the real hope that things will improve, for they must.

In our plant there is still little evidence of reform. Recently we distributed a compensation fund that was a result of the reform. Unfortunately, people still do not trust the actions of the authorities.

[SM] Let us ask ourselves a question for today. What need would you specific workers have of trade unions now?

[R. Pielas] They must begin to defend me in current matters of my daily life and material situation.

[M. Milkowski] There must be laws against parasites. This is a very important subject. There must be work camps and stone quarries for shirkers and parasites, and not factories. This is what the workers say. One works himself to the bone to earn the name "worker."

[S. Blaszczyk] On a nationwide scale, the most important task for unions would be consultation and reacting to the three-year plan, of which people are not aware. The particular elements of this plan, housing construction, for example, must be gone over. The credibility of this plan would give an incentive to act both to the union and the government. Today there is basically only one side. Unions must also have the right to supervise and make an accounting of this plan.

[SM] The final major subject of importance in our discussion must be to consider the interdependence of the workers' self-government and trade unions in the plant. If the elected self-government, which has enormous power in practice, represents the workforce after martial law is lifted, then what is the role of trade unions? If it will have authority over the management, production plans, profits and their distribution, then against whom will the trade union use its strike defense? If it opposes management, then it also opposes the self-government. And if it opposes the self-government, then it also opposes us--can we strike against ourselves?

[M. Milkowski] The self-government should change our attitudes toward work. Historically speaking, the name "turtle" came to be applied to one who worked under the partitions or the occupation. Finally we can work for the plant and for ourselves.

As for the unions, they must ensure a broader view. It is not only a question of money and profits, but of human beings. Unions should exert pressure both on management and on the self-government. It should be a question not only of money, but also of health care, recreation and culture. Obviously, the self-government will be concerned primarily with production and financial results. It may forget about human affairs, or relegate them to a secondary plane.

[R. Pielas] Unions should be the defender of the employee. Self-government should act in the defense of the plant, from the economic aspect. Self-government must see to it that the plant and the workforce make a profit. On the other hand, the manner in which this profit is distributed--so that not everything goes for investments and the like, so that people receive both wages and benefits--that is what unions must fight for.

[S. Blaszczyk] If the workforce turns against self-government, this will automatically mean its downfall and new elections. Thus, there must be a clear division of powers between the unions and self-government. Self-government should always act in the direction of profit maximization. We may select various routes to attain this goal, some of which affect the worker directly. This creates a ready-made conflict with the unions. Profit maximization at the expense of human effort must always evoke the resistance of the unions. There may be similar conflicts regarding the distribution of profits.

Another aspect: profit is divided in one firm so that its work force has it much better than the other work forces of the same trade. The push of money into the local market causes it to be divested of goods. This may cause the unions to protest, but not against management, against the local authorities who did not anticipate this and were short of supplies. Thus, the basis of this protest is not politics, but matters of daily living. If there is nothing to buy for money, the incentive to work declines.

[W. Styczynski] I believe that our highest leaders are aware that they aroused tremendous hope among working people in their addresses, especially in the 21 July Sejm address. This is especially so because they provided specific time limits. They did not have to do this, but since they did, the deadlines must be adhered to. In the case of self-government--within 3 months it should generally be set into motion. It would be a mistake for the authorities to begin withdrawing from their concrete plans as announced.

[SM] But if street demonstrations, conspiracy and scenes continue, how are the authorities to activate the unions?

[W. Styczynski] The authorities believe that the working class in its masses is not taking part in disturbances, scenes and demonstrations. On 31 August, the workers went about their work normally. In my opinion, the time has come to trust the working class. Some people believe that during these 9 months, the workers thought of nothing else but their earnings. I believe that they were thinking about important things: the country's future, the future of their own class and of society. There is a tremendous difference between

the mental state of workers 9 months ago and now. Of course there are extremist positions, but these exist on all sides, including in the administration. Such people never learn. They hamper both social and economic reform. Some members of the trade union aktiv are this way.

The thinking majority of workers, however--and this is a highly qualified class, intellectually as well--has learned a lesson from the past months.

[R. Pielas] People have learned, but they still mistrust. They want a rebirth of their organizations.

[M. Milkowski] Although the discussions about unions are lively, they occur mainly within the party. One speaks of them with caution, as if with a hint of fear and disenchantment. Privately, many people maintain that they will not belong to anything. I believe that any sort of unions, whether old or new, will have to work hard for members to dispel mistrust.

Personally I am in favor of one union per enterprise. Inter-union competitiveness is of no value.

[R. Pielas] I do not agree. Although competitiveness can go too far, a matter may be resolved legally--the obligation to come to an understanding may be imposed. All healthy competition leads to the health of the interested parties, the work force.

[SM] What does a poor director do when several unions in a plant which are tormenting one another demand mutually exclusive things and threaten a strike?

[R. Pielas] Obviously, the most convenient situation would be to have one union per enterprise. But people cannot be forced to belong--we had that before. Other solutions must be found. I think that the director should speak only with a joint commission; he should not address unions separately. Most of my colleagues do not want one union. However, there should be unions organized on the basis of occupations--trades--although this term has a history of resistance among many people.

[S. Blaszczyk] I am opposed to social divisions. I am in favor of pluralism --occupational pluralism. I am in favor of trade unions in an occupational system, not a ministerial system, as was the case before August in the so-called trade movement.

[SM] This already detailed discussion could last very long. Here, legislators on the one hand and life on the other must promulgate "wisdom."

However, we are able to draw certain general conclusions from our discussion. The most important of these is the need to activate the union movement as quickly as conditions permit. We also agree that the primary goal of this movement is to defend workers' rights in all spheres of material and spiritual life.

Unions cannot replace the party or the administration. They should be strong and should possess instruments ensuring real control over the implementation of social goals set by the party, which they must recognize as the leading force of the state and its own class, the working class.

You gentlemen differ in your proposals of detailed solutions; you differ in assessing the importance of the movement's goals and tasks. Such differences must exist--there is no progress without them. Nor do interviews for the paper dispel these differences. Only life and action test them.

Let us hope that the opportunity for this will come soon.

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YOUNG WORKERS POLLED ON MEANING OF 'INDEPENDENT' TRADE UNIONS

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 29 Sep 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz; pollsters: M. Truszkowski, J. Handerek, W. Jurczak, E. Kupczynska, D. Koniec]

[Text] What does 'independent' mean? Our reporters in several of the biggest industrial centers posed this question to young workers, members of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth Union [ZSMP]. Just a definition of the term 'independent' is not enough, however. After all, nobody is completely independent of the environment and of other people. Then, what kind of independence are we talking about in reference to trade unions? Who should they be completely independent of? What influences and to what degree should they tolerate? Finally, what should they subordinate themselves to?

Below are responses offered by young workers.

Andrzej Stepien, the Szczecin A. Warski Shipyard: "I understand the independence of a trade union as a separation of a trade union organization from management. It cannot be that management will give an order to the trade union, and trade union members at the direction of their union will either execute the order or applaud it. That was the situation until August 1980, in my opinion. It completely destroyed the old trade unions. I believe that there must be a certain justifiable dependence of the unions on various systemic fundamentals. No one can argue against such dependence if he accepts Poland's socialist form. The recognition of the PRR Constitution in the union statutes means also a responsibility for what the union does for the state and for the entire nation. At the same time, a declaration in the statutes is not sufficient. Thus, the recognition of the political system and of the Constitution must be exemplified by the union's daily activities. Therefore, I have been and still am against strikes, which only devastate the economy and harm Poland."

Jerzy Borzecki, Szczecin Port Administration: "An independent trade union is the one, which will in my opinion be uncompromising in the defense of benefits for the working people and for the crew. The unions must accept

the systemic fundamentals, and many accept them as their own views. The unions must be responsible for their activities in the political sphere. After all, political activities cannot be avoided in the unions. At the same time, the unions should not be a "compress" for everything. For example, I am against involving the unions in cultural-entertainment activities, struggle with alcoholism, sports, and recreation. The well-being of the working people should be only domain of the unions. Like many others, I do not want the unions to play the role of a tacit enthusiast of all decisions and resolutions. If something is right and beneficial to the crew, the unions ought to support it; if it is not--I am talking about benefits, not politics--the unions ought to express their vote of no confidence, or abstain from expressing their opinion. The latter applies to those those political matters, which affect the workers' well being. Also, the unions ought to perform functions, which will guarantee that the party will make decisions and pass resolutions beneficial to the workers in terms of their well being."

Jan Popiol, Toolmaker, Gliwice May 1st Iron and Steel Works: "The independence of a trade union is the basis for its proper activity. This independence lust be absolute; most of all, of management and of any organization. Only when provided with such dependence can the union fight and take care of the problems of its members. Naturally, I am taking only about union matters such as negotiations on working conditions, wages, social benefits, health care, etc. I am not talking about political activities, which is the domain of parties; if somebody wants to be active in this area, let him join these. Hence the union must follow systemic and constitutional principles. Should these be violated, responsible union functionaries should be personally accountable for such a state of affairs; not the entire union, but those individual members who would like to use the union organization for politicking."

Hubert Stachowski, miner, "Nowy Wirek" Coal Mine in Ruda Slaska: "If a trade union is supposed to be an equal partner in dealing with the authorities, it must be independent of them. Otherwise, there cannot be any talk about proper activity, because what kind of union will it be if its program is dictated by the management and not by its members, the workers? A real representative of the working people must do whatever they want. If also must collaborate with the party and all kinds of civic and political organizations, but on a partnership basis and without being subordinated to their decisions and orders."

Wieslawa Kwasiborska, spinner, Gen. Walter Cotton Plants in Ledz, ZSMP member: "Above all, the union must be independent of plant management, because its officials can successfully defend the workers' cause only when they are not officially subordinated to management. Therefore, union positions, with a separate financial system, ought to be elected by the entire membership. Here the management should have no say. In other words, the union must be financially independent of the plant in which it operates, and it must independently elect representatives to various bodies without any 'representational system.'

"Our Constitution univocally defines the rights and obligations of citizens as well as of the unions, and of political and civic organizations. Thus, it is inconceivable that anybody or any organization would not be subordinated to these laws. The party was given the leading role, but this does not mean intervention in small affairs and details, but rather in fundamental and important affairs. As to the former, the unions must be self governing and issue decisions. This does not exclude partnership, counselling, assistance, or inspiration from the party. No doubt, such partnership is realistic so long as the unions will limit themselves to activities concerning workers' rights, wellbeing, and benefits in accordance with their statutes and in the existing political arrangements and reality. I am talking about complete independence in union matters and subordination to laws, spelled out in the Constitution and addressed to everybody."

Boguslawa Krzeczowska, machine set-up person, General Walter Cotton Plants in Lodz, ZSMP member: "As I understand it, a trade union in a plant above all nshould be independent not only of management, but also of the party. Naturally, I am talking about workers' affairs, union matters, and activities in their behalf. This may be a cliche,' but I cannot imagine these activities outside a broadly understood partnership. Here the workers' self-government can be a forum for a mutual support. Independence of management is a must, because, for example, when the union defends a worker, it simultaneously acts against the management.

"Likewise, union officials must be independent of management. In the case of agreements and compromises the interests and benefits of workers ought to be decisive, but clearly within the framework of the statutory union activity. I cannot imagine that any trade union would not accept the systemic fundamentals, the Constitution, and the leading role of the party; particularly the Constitution as the major law governing everybody in our country. The leading role of the party also is important, however, allowing a broad autonomy in the union matters and in activities for the people and on their behalf. Also, I believe that the union statute ought to include a penalty for noncompliance with the provisions of the fundamental law, and the administrative courts could be given jurisdiction over this matter. Let me repeat that my statements refer to any union in a socialist state. While fundamentals and principles concerning the entire society must be complied with, autonomy is necessary and indispensable. After all, the union movement is a social movement created for the defense of the material and spiritual rights of the working class. And considering the situation we are in now, a partnership with other organizations, including political ones, is simply indispensable for the union to fulfill its role and at to workers' advantage."

Ryszard Wozniczko, 25 years old, repairman, Lenin Iron and Steel Works in Cracow: "I consider it very disadvantageous that we have still no unions. The benefit commissions cannot replace a well-functioning union and that is why I hope that the trade union movement will begin to function soon. I believe that a trade union must be totally independent, and I understand this independence as an authentic representation of all persons employed in a given enterprise. A trade union should not be concerned with its members' views or membership in a political party or organization. The

functioning of a union cannot be limited in any way by the activity of an enterprise. The only limitations that can be considered are ones which come from the Constitution, such as acceptance of the socialist realities in the state and of the leading role of the PZPR. More limitations would only make the union's independence a meaningless slogan. When talking toady about the revival of the union movement we must remember about the existence of many fears with regard to the real shape of the union movement. If 'Solidarity' is being criticized here and there for its errors, it cannot be forgotten that that trade union did a lot of good for the working people. The Gdansk Accords is one such example; their enforcement should be continued and they ought to be used as the basis for the future union."

Krzysztof Bialek, 28 years old, metal worker, Transportation Equipment Plant [WSK] in Cracow: "All of us remember the devastating criticism of the trade unions existing in the framework of the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ]; criticism particularly vivid after August 1980. It was justified, because the old unions had committed many errors, the most important of which was their lack of independence. Sometimes the union was an advocate for the management instead of representing the interests of the employees. We cannot think in terms of those old models, because it would be a tragedy for future trade unions. Personally, I do not care about the name of the union, but I am concerned about their program. Such program should be devoid of any political ambitions, but covering all matters which are of interest and important to us--the workers. In order to function well such a union cannot be subordinated to anybody and must be dependent only on the will of its members. There is a talk now about a bill on trade unions; if the Sejm passes such bill it ought to regulate only our union life. Only the bill and the Constitution can do that and not the directives and orders of some minister or director. If a union violates the Constitution or the bill it should be punished by law, otherwise it should not be accountable to any authority."

Waldemar Skulimowski, W-2 department turner at DOLMEL in Wroclaw, ZSMP member (27 years old): "A trade union must be above all independent of government organs. Union members ought to be sure that when the need arises the union will be able to defend their interests and that it will not be forced to take the side of the management.

"I believe that independence is indispensable for trade unions to allow them to perform their certain control role with regard to the administrative organs in order to check how they fulfill their obligations with respect to their employees, such as the compliance with the Labor Code.

"A trade union ought to be independent of the party as well. As in the case with other sociopolitical organizations it should be the party's partner. At the same time, however, it must recognize the leading role of the party. The party ought to give the development directions for the nation, but in their realization the trade unions must be an equal partner with an equal voice. I am for independent unions which respect the systemic and constitutional principles governing our country."

Marek Maluszczak, W-5 department repairman at DOLMEL in Sroclaw (18 years old), ZSMP member: "Independent above all of any bureaucracy, and official subordination to the enterprise administration and management. I also believe that it should be independent of the party, but accept its leading role. Trade unions along with the party ought to defend the workers' interests. I would also see the unions' independence in their activities not being subjected to the courts' jurisdiction; it is a social movement and the union members themselves ought to guard the compliance with the law and control the union activities. Independence should also guarantee the unions the right to strike, which would be resorted to only under extreme conditions, naturally. And I do not think that it would mean undermining the socialist system, for a strike is directed against the incompetence of management and not against the system.

"If the people's opinions are not listened to daily it will be necessary to listen to them elsewhere. The trade unions with regard to their union activities ought to be independent of the administrative and political organs if they are supposed to really fulfill their duty."

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Our poll has shown a nearly complete uniformity of views: trade unions must be completely independent of the enterprise's administration, management, and services. Only this kind of independence will enable them to perform their basic task: protection of existential and material interests of the working people.

Similar postulates were made with regard to the party, but in this case our interlocutors seem to be more careful. Somehow they are unable to reconcile the leading role of the party with the independence of trade union sections and entire trade unions of the party. Some evade this problem by using a descriptive technique: the idea is for the party not to direct union activities on everyday basis. We must agree with that. If such direction was allowed we would have returned to the pre-August 1980 situation. And nobody wants that.

There is a universal emphasis on the need to subordinate the unions to the legal acts of the highest level: the Constitution and the bill on the trade unions. The need to subordinate them to their own statutes is being recognized as well. How different was the situation not so long ago, only a year earlier. How disrespectfully these matters were treated.

Differences of opinion can be discerned in the attitude toward the control of respect for the law within the unions. There is either no opinion or a controversial one is offered. One of the persons polled, Mr Maluszczak of DOLMEL, stated that the unions ought to be above the law; the members themselves ought to make sure that the law is enforced within the unions.

Nothing can be held against such attitude, except for its idealism After all, "Solidarity" also had a wonderful statute in which it pledged to respect the Constitution, accept the leading role of the party, and not to be involved in politics. And what happened? Were the members able to control their leaders?

This is just life and those who govern are usually the ones who have mastered the difficult art of manipulation. This is true of the unions as well.

Therefore, I would not be an idealist. The judiciary has been established to enforce the law, and this is true not only in our country. It should be allowed to continue performing this function.

There is another inaccuracy. Mr Wozniczko of the Lenin Iron and Steel Works credited the "Solidarity" with being responsible for preparing and achieving the Gdansk Accords. This is not true. "Solidarity" emerged as a union 2 weeks after the Accords had been signed. The Accords were the result of a spontaneous worker's protest and not an achievment of the trade union. One must not confuse these notions.

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